

Our Schubert

His Enduring Legacy

David Schroeder



OUR SCHUBERT

His Enduring Legacy

David Schroeder



THE SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

Lanham, Maryland • Toronto • Plymouth, UK

2009

SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

Published in the United States of America
by Scarecrow Press, Inc.
A wholly owned subsidiary of
The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.scarecrowpress.com

Estover Road
Plymouth PL6 7PY
United Kingdom

Copyright © 2009 by David Peter Schroeder

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any
means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Schroeder, David P., 1946—

Our Schubert : his enduring legacy / David Schroeder.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8108-6926-4 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-8108-6927-1
(ebook)

1. Schubert, Franz, 1797–1828. 2. Schubert, Franz, 1797–1828—
Influence. 3. Composers—Austria—Biography. 4. Motion picture music.
I. Title.

ML410.S3S295 2009

780.92—dc22 [B]

2009007155

©TM The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of
American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for
Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.
Manufactured in the United States of America.

To Linda, Daniel, and Emily—with love

DropBooks

Contents

List of Photographs vii

Preface ix

Introduction xiii

Part 1: His Lifetime

1. Speaking in the First Person 3
2. The Performer 36
3. The Good Life 74
4. Covert Opera 91
5. Songs, Symphonies, and Beethoven's Long Shadow 112
6. Descent into Darkness 136

Part 2: His Legacy

7. Musicians 163

8. Turn-of-the-Century Vienna 189

9. Writers 216

10. Film 242

Selected Bibliography 284

Selected Discography 289

Index 293

About the Author 303

DropBooks

Photographs

2.1	<i>Schubert at the Piano with the Singer Michael Vogl</i> , by Moritz von Schwind, 1825.	53
2.2	<i>Franz Schubert's Room in the Wipplingerstrasse</i> , by Moritz von Schwind, 1821.	60
3.1	<i>Schubert and Friends</i> , by Joseph Eduard Teltscher, 1827.	77
4.1	<i>An Evening at Baron Spaun's</i> , by Moritz von Schwind, n.d.	97
4.2	<i>The Fall, a Charade Played by the "Schubertians"</i> <i>in Atzenbrugg Castle</i> , by Leopold Kupelwieser, 1821.	98
8.1	<i>Schubert at the Piano</i> , by Gustav Klimt, 1899.	193
8.2	<i>Franz Schubert and Bauernfeld Drinking Wine</i> , by Moritz von Schwind, n.d.	204
10.1	<i>Lifeboat</i> , directed by Alfred Hitchcock, 1944.	251
10.2	<i>Trop belle pour toi</i> , directed by Bertrand Blier, 1989.	263
10.3	<i>Celestial Clockwork</i> , directed by Fina Torres, 1995.	270
10.4	<i>Carrington</i> , directed by Christopher Hampton, 1995.	272
10.5	<i>Death and the Maiden</i> , directed by Roman Polanski, 1994.	275
10.6	<i>La pianiste</i> , directed by Michael Haneke, 2001.	279

DropBooks

Preface

MUSICOLOGISTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO WRITE dispassionately about their subjects, but this does not always happen. Of course we write about the composers we select because we feel passionately about them, and I have certainly done that in the past with Haydn, Mozart, and Berg. Schubert, though, can have a mysterious effect on those who play or listen to his music, whether professionals or amateurs, taking us far beyond the normal response of excitement or love one may have for a composer's works. For me this started when, as a teenager in the early 1960s, a novice taking singing lessons, one of the first pieces I performed publicly was Schubert's "Ständchen" from *Schwanengesang*. I was hooked, and it has lasted a lifetime. His appeal has not diminished at any stage of my life, and in fact, as something of a late bloomer, I could not have attempted a book about him until reaching almost twice the age he was when he died.

The strongest way to embrace Schubert, as the pages that follow make clear, is by singing or playing his music, and many listeners at recitals and concerts can respond fervently because they have had some experience of playing his music and can have the listening experience transformed into something much more intimate, which comes through performance. This can be a solitary experience at the piano or a shared one with other players, and the intimacy comes from the fact that Schubert himself played his own music, sharing with his friends not only the songs and chamber music but the larger orchestral works as well. As a singer, I have had the pleasure of sharing this with

many outstanding pianists, a number of them genuine Schubertians, sometimes in public performances, but most often in the privacy of a studio or a living room, just for the love of reading these wonderful songs. Some of these people need to be acknowledged in special ways, along with a few of the other Schubert fanatics I have had the good fortune to know.

I have had no more willing accomplice than Bruce Vogt, starting when we were fellow undergraduates and continuing ever since. While both of us lived in England in the mid-1970s, we set out to read through all the songs, and we came fairly close to getting there. When we ran out of written transpositions for my baritone voice, we alternated between Bruce transposing at sight and me shifting octaves. Another great Schubertian is my mother-in-law, Hilda Jonas, who studied with, among others, some of the great Schubert performers of the twentieth century, including Rudolf Serkin and Artur Schnabel. We live on opposite sides of the continent, but that has not prevented us from reading Schubert lieder for hours on end at least two or three times a year since 1975.

During my years in England I read with some extraordinarily fine pianists, including my fellow graduate student Roy Howat, whose marvelous performance of the Sonata in C minor (D958) in Canada I was able to arrange; Howard Ferguson, a leading chamber music performer who had just retired to Cambridge when I arrived there and was then preparing his editions of the keyboard music; Philip Radcliffe, whose playing was as sensitive as his written observations, one of which I cite in chapter 6; and an undergraduate at King's College, Cambridge, whose name I no longer recall, with whom I read through *Winterreise*. On a warm summer evening while I lived in Cambridge, I once heard the accompaniment of "Liedesbotschaft" wafting across the street, and on knocking at the door to see who was playing, I met Nick Toller, with whom I then read this song and many others.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in both Canada and the U.S., I have read lieder with Marlene Nepstad (with whom I gave a full recital), Mary Ann Unruh, Edward Laufer, Penelope Mark, and Michelle Fillion. My singing career has long since ended and has been replaced by reading Schubert at the piano. Being very much an amateur, I can attest to the pleasure that rank amateurs can receive, and I can say with some honesty that I do not play the piano—I play Schubert.

There are other Schubertians who have played a role in shaping my thoughts over the years, including teachers, fellow students, and my own students. I studied voice for almost six years with James Stark, who studied with Axsel Schiøtz, the great Danish tenor who, after a stroke in 1945 that left one side of his face paralyzed, relearned how to sing and came back as a baritone. Much of what I believe about performance has been shaped by the principles made evident by Schiøtz in his recordings, writing, and master classes, one of which I attended. I can thank Stark for introducing me to this master's vision and techniques. I wrote an MA thesis on Schubert's operas, a somewhat esoteric topic at the time, and my supervisor, Philip Downs, shared my enthusiasm for the subject, going far beyond the call of duty. Also during those student years, I met the most fanatical Schubertian I know, John Glofcheski; I cite him in chapter 2, but the debt goes much deeper.

More recently I was able to regard the conductor Georg Tintner as a friend and colleague, and his generosity was without bounds. When I organized a Schubert symposium in 1997, he readily agreed to conduct the opera *Die Verschworenen*. I would also like to thank Sophia McClennen, a recent Fulbright Scholar at Dalhousie University, for sharing her knowledge of Ariel Dorfman with me. I have occasionally given Schubert seminars at Dalhousie, and for one of these we had the right number of people in the class to read through the part songs with piano accompaniment. A few students stand out from these classes, including Emily Doolittle, Barbara Swanson, and Rebekah Shepherd, and I may have learned as much from them as they did from me. Another student and research assistant I would like to thank, Jennifer Bentley, prepared the musical examples for this book.

In the past I have written about a number of the issues that appear here, and some of that writing has found its way into this book. I have borrowed from these articles: "Schubert the Singer," *The Music Review* 49 (1988): 254–66; "Feminine Voices in Schubert's Early Laments," *The Music Review* 55 (1994): 183–201; "Dorfman, Schubert, and *Death and the Maiden*," *Comparative Literature and Culture* 9, no. 1 (2007): <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol9/iss1/18/> (accessed 24 March 2009); and "Alban Berg and Peter Altenberg: Intimate Art and the Aesthetics of Life," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 261–94. Additional acknowledgment is given in notes

at the end of chapters. All translations in the book are mine unless otherwise noted.

While many have shared a passion for Schubert with me as performers or colleagues, no one has indulged me in this to the extent that my wife Linda has. She does this as a performer—one far superior to me—and as the person most willing to listen to my rants, tell me when I completely miss the mark, and get as excited as me about the extraordinary effect that Schubert can have. I cannot imagine writing a book without her unceasing interest and involvement, and for this I am deeply grateful.

DropBooks

Introduction

“OF SCHUBERT—I MIGHT ALMOST SAY of *our* Schubert—there is much I should like to tell you.”¹ With these words Anton Ottenwalt started a long letter in 1825 in which he divulged to Josef von Spaun the happy details of Schubert’s recent visit to Linz. Any good friend would express endearment with “our,” as Ottenwalt did elsewhere for Johann Mayrhofer and others, but here he underlined it, making it all the more special. The term stuck, and for the next half century or more Schubert’s friends referred to him affectionately as “our” Schubert. The day after Schubert died, on 19 November 1828 at the tragically young age of 31, Eduard von Bauernfeld made this desolate entry in his diary: “Buried our Schubert yesterday. Schober with his art establishment is near bankruptcy, Schwind and I are discouraged. What a life is this!”² For the moment he could not imagine life without Schubert, and “our” in this case suggests that something of his own life expired with Schubert’s passing. In the obituary notice he wrote in 1828, Spaun, who had known Schubert intimately for two decades, lamented the sad state of German opera, and how Schubert could have rescued it: “our Schubert, who could have become an ornament and a support of German opera, has already passed to a better life.”³ Like many, he wondered what might have been if this genius had lived on; much more than a genius, Schubert was a dear friend who enjoyed nothing “unless it was seasoned with the company of friends,” whose approval always gave him the greatest pleasure. “A memorial stone, erected by friends and admirers, will show later generations who rests

here, and how much we loved him. . . . Our gratitude and our love . . . follow the dear departed beyond the grave.”⁴

Numerous other friends and family members also used the same affectionate term; this continued as late as 1884, when Gerhard von Breuning, only fifteen years old when Schubert died, called him “our poor Schubert,”⁵ adding a new level of endearment. Another one of Schubert’s earliest close friends, Anselm Hüttenbrenner, who met him as a fellow pupil of Antonio Salieri in 1815, remembered with affection in 1854 those good old days in Vienna:

When the merry musical brotherhood, of whom there were often ten, met together intimately anywhere, each had his own nickname. . . . Our Schubert was called *Schwammerl*. . . . We were young, gay people and, in our dear capital, enjoyed ourselves as much as possible and used to go along arm-in-arm. Now those *schöne Tage in Aranjuez* are long since over. . . . The divine spark, which burned in his breast, cannot be extinguished throughout eternity.⁶

Not readily translatable into English, “Schwammerl” can mean anything from “fungus” to “toadstool.” In another memoir four years later Hüttenbrenner took the term of endearment a step further, individualizing it with “my Schubert.”⁷ Hüttenbrenner was absolutely right about Schubert’s spark not being extinguished: in the century and a half since he wrote these words there has not been so much as a flicker. He could not have anticipated that the next generations, including our own, would continue to think of his Schubert as “our Schubert,” inspiring a type of devotion surpassing that shown to just about any other composer from the recent or distant past, enticing us now even more than he did his contemporaries then.

Schubert happened by chance to live during a half century that saw the most extraordinary concentration of musical brilliance in one city that the world has ever seen or likely will see. Haydn died in Vienna when Schubert was twelve years old, and we continue to undervalue this visionary musical innovator. Mozart exploded onto the world stage at a very tender age, and by the mid- to late 1770s was producing incomparable masterpieces. He died in Vienna six years before Schubert’s birth, but his spirit lived on, especially among the next generation of composers. Beethoven was twenty-six at the time of Schubert’s birth in 1797, although nothing of a personal nature developed between Schubert and

Beethoven, unlike Haydn and Mozart, who, despite a similar age gap, became close friends. Beethoven certainly knew about Schubert, and Schubert admired Beethoven with such ardor that it threatened to derail him from his own quest for originality; at times, one could say, Schubert actually wanted to become Beethoven. Schubert stands on equal footing with these three giants, and in some ways even surpasses them, especially in his capacity to evoke intense personal responses, sometimes so impassioned that they defy rational explanation.

MUSIC CRITICS AND MUSIC LOVERS

As often happens in major centers, one critic emerges as a dominating force, and that certainly took place in late nineteenth-century Vienna with Eduard Hanslick. He flexed sufficient journalistic muscle that he became a serious threat to a composer as powerful as Wagner when Hanslick championed Brahms as a reasoned alternative, if not antidote, to the highly sensory and passionate Wagner. Wagner seriously contemplated getting his revenge by building the pugnacious critic into one of his operas, *Die Meistersinger*, holding him up to ridicule for the entire musical world to see and leaving no question as to his identity.⁸ As a critic, Hanslick focused on structure, showing much less interest in expression, emotion, and especially the inclination of some to construe programmatic readings from purely instrumental works, dismissing these as “dilating on tinkling opium dreams.”⁹ When it came to Schubert, some of whose greatest works, such as the “Unfinished” Symphony, audiences heard for the first time in the 1860s, Hanslick could hardly resist doing a little dilating of his own.

As new Schubert masterpieces continued to surface during those years, Hanslick, astonished by one work more brilliant than the next, enthused that “for thirty years the master has been dead, and in spite of this it seems as if he goes on working invisibly—it is impossible to follow him.”¹⁰ At the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde premiere of the “Unfinished” in 1865, Hanslick had difficulty restraining himself from the type of language he found so objectionable:

When, after the few introductory measures, clarinet and oboe in unison began their gentle cantilena above the calm murmur of the violins, every child recognized the composer, and a muffled

“Schubert” was whispered in the audience. . . . And when, after this nostalgic cantilena in the minor, there followed the contrasting G major theme of the violoncellos, a charming song of almost *Ländler*-like intimacy, every heart rejoiced, as if, after a long separation, the composer himself were among us in person. The whole movement is a melodic stream so crystal clear, despite its force and genius, that one can see every pebble on the bottom. And everywhere the same warmth, the same bright, life-giving sunshine!¹¹

But before anyone can accuse Hanslick of indulging in mellowed opium dreams, he manages to find something to disparage in the second movement:

A few odd hints here and there of complaint or irritation are interwoven in a cantilena otherwise full of heartiness and quiet happiness; their effect is that of musical thunder clouds rather than of dangerous clouds of passion. As if loath to leave his own gentle song, the composer puts off too long the end of this Andante. We know this peculiar habit of Schubert's, which weakens the total impression of some of his works.¹²

Here, amid the phrases of his euphoric review, Hanslick rasps back to his preferred formal territory, initiating the longstanding objection to Schubert's apparent lack or at least diminished emphasis on form. Perhaps most importantly, he douses Schubert with thunder clouds, denying him the passion that his music most certainly evokes, dangerous to listeners and even more so to critics. And to round this essay off, after delighting in Schubert's orchestration, which Hanslick finds superior to Wagner's, he reminds us of his previous warnings “of overzealous Schubert worship and the adulation of Schubert relics.”¹³ Like many critics, he remains stingy with his praise, balancing it with invective, if not for Schubert himself, then certainly for those left in rapture listening to his music, although he came dangerously close to succumbing to the passion himself.

In referring to the intimacy of the music, Hanslick hit on an extraordinary possibility, meant by him one assumes in a fairly limited way, but with far-reaching prospects for some Schubert fanatics: the presence of the composer among us in person. The appearance of new Schubert works throughout the nineteenth century seemed to keep the composer alive as audiences discovered gems that his

contemporaries did not know. Christopher H. Gibbs, in trying to get at this longstanding identification that audiences have had with “our Schubert,” explores the possibility of “an intriguing psychological phenomenon whereby every listener constructs his or her own image of the composer,” capturing “a possessiveness often directed toward beloved figures,”¹⁴ especially pronounced in Schubert’s case. Gibbs disapproves of the practice in that the images “our Schubert” devotees form will be at odds with “reality,” although biographers often do not fare much better at creating an impression of the real person. Gibbs readily admits that the limited documentation in the case of Schubert yields a much smaller biography than one would like, that too few letters have survived to give a rounded impression, and that his friends wrote their memoirs too many years after Schubert’s death to be reliable. Biographers too often try to fill in the gaps, making assumptions based on flimsy or manufactured evidence; in Schubert’s case they speculate that he may have been a homosexual or an opium user,¹⁵ positions that cannot be tested or verified by anything we currently know.

The implications of these biographical assumptions can be pervasive, for example, Maynard Solomon’s hypothesis about Schubert’s homosexuality. Defenders of a heterosexual Schubert—especially those based in Vienna—have found this to be especially objectionable, and a flood of articles has created a musicological battle royal rivaled only by the “Shostakovich controversy” (did he abhor or blindly submit to Stalin?), which similarly has taken some very nasty turns.¹⁶ We may, though, have missed the point of this controversy. The issue has little or nothing to do with defining the real Schubert, since that Schubert will continue to elude us; a Schubert sexually oriented exclusively to women or to men will necessarily be more a reflection on the view of biographers than on Schubert himself. The passion with which Solomon’s hypothesis has been embraced in no way attests to the quality of his argument but instead to the possibility of evoking another response to “our Schubert”—this time, for some, “our gay Schubert.” This force far transcends anything that documentation can disrupt, and carries forward in a different way what Schubert’s music has done all along, in this case opening it to a segment of society that previously may have wished to identify with Schubert but lacked the key to unlock that door of intimacy.

SCHUBERT'S VOICE

One normally, although not always, thinks of music in the classical tradition as originating in the mind of a composer who then commits the idea to musical notation, which in turn is read by performers who transmit the score to a listening audience. Unlike the composer, the novelist's or poet's work does not have to be mediated before it reaches the reader, allowing for a highly intimate relationship between author and reader (and authors—especially from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—sometimes even address the reader as though in correspondence as “Dear reader” or “Gentle reader”). In contrast to this, the composer depends on the good will of performers (conductors and players in the case of larger public works) who may or may not grasp what the composer hopes to achieve. Because of this necessity of performer as intermediary, a certain amount of distance inevitably exists between composer and listener since the performer takes a place of central importance in the process, and listeners are just as likely to zero in on the quality of the performance as the work itself. In some types of works the two become almost inseparable, such as in concertos in which the composer often makes the solo performance the primary focus. Even here, though, some composers have opted to include their concertos among their most intimate works, as Mozart does with the piano or Beethoven and Berg do with the violin, placing the solo performer in a very delicate position. A performer who thinks these composers wrote their concertos entirely for display of virtuosity will create an unbridgeable gulf between composer and listener.

Composers, of course, may very often be performers themselves, as Mozart was on both the piano and violin or Beethoven on the piano earlier in his career, and that can help considerably to shorten the distance between creator and listener, although even here others will perform their works, if not at the time then certainly for posterity. The nature of the relationship, though, remains one of considerable distance since the composer/performer—a Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Rachmaninov, Ravel, Prokofiev, or Bartók, to mention only a few—can do that which ordinary mortals cannot, and the composer stands in a place of infinite superiority, speaking with magisterial authority from the top of the mountain to the flock gathered below. Not all will think of themselves as occupying such

a commanding position; Haydn, for example, remained genuinely humble about his achievements, but others, especially Schubert's contemporary and idol Beethoven, saw themselves peering down from the dizzying heights.

Schubert may have thought wistfully about Beethoven's vantage point from Mount Olympus, and at times he tried to scale those lofty heights himself, but Schubert does not hold his position of equality with Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn because of a misguided attempt to emulate his elevated contemporary. Schubert's stunning achievement lies in his discovery of what Beethoven and the others could not find: he shortens the distance drastically between composer and listener, finding a directness to parallel that of the novelist or poet. Robert Schumann, for one, had no doubts about Schubert's ability to achieve this intimacy: "Schubert expresses Jean Paul, Novalis, and E. T. A. Hoffmann in tones. . . . when I play Schubert, it's as if I were reading a novel composed by Jean Paul."¹⁷ It should not surprise us that the Schubert circle, the intimate groups of friends and associates from the earliest literary club of the Seminary days to the various reading societies he felt so passionately about at every stage of his life, consisted of people devoted to literature and painting, some of whom became professionals working at a high standard, but all committed to the principles of art.¹⁸ Among those closest to Schubert we find the writers Johann Mayrhofer, Franz von Schober, Josef Kenner, and Johann Senn, and the painters Leopold Kupelwieser and Moritz von Schwind. Not only did Schubert exchange ideas freely with aspiring and established writers, but he received an education from them that no school or university could offer on the major writers of his time. That may have focused during the Seminary years on writers of the highest moral standards, but later, through Schober and others, he became familiar with dissident writers as well. Aside from his teacher Salieri, and professional associations with figures such as Karl Maria von Weber later on, Schubert did not spend his time with other professional musicians. The retired opera singer Michael Vogl proved to be one of the few exceptions.

There can be little doubt that Schubert's life among writers contributed much to his discovery of how to cut the distance between himself and listeners, and while literature itself played a role in this, especially poetic texts used for songs, the principle itself applies broadly

to instrumental as well as vocal music. Unlike his composer colleagues who were or had been virtuoso performers, Schubert achieved much more modest results as a performer—as a singer and on piano, violin, and viola—placing him more in the company of talented amateurs, of whom no shortage existed at the time. As a singer he excelled in his youth; before his voice changed he was perhaps the finest singer in the chorus that would later evolve into the Vienna Boys' Choir. After his voice changed, he ended up with a pleasant but not outstanding voice. On the piano we should not doubt his exceptional musicality, but he never reached the point of virtuosity; he could not adequately play his own most difficult works, such as the “Wanderer” Fantasy or the last three piano sonatas, and the accompaniment to “Erlkönig” bedeviled him to the point that he made an arrangement without the triplets. On violin and viola he played well as a chamber music player or as a sectional leader in amateur orchestras, but the solo repertoire lay beyond his grasp. As a composer/performer Schubert did not elevate himself above others, but on the contrary, placed himself firmly with them, writing himself into virtually all of his works as a participant, sharing with others the sensuous pleasure of music making in chamber settings, piano four-hands, songs, and even symphonies. All of his early works, with the exception of operas, allow this participation of the composer, and in later works written for professional performers, such as the two last symphonies, that sense of involvement still remains intact, allowing these major works to be experienced in ways that Beethoven's symphonies could not.

As a composer, then, Schubert wrote for involvement instead of education or some other form of edification—as both Haydn and Beethoven often did. Previously the symphony had functioned not unlike opera, performed by professionals for a listening audience and making its impact through the dramatic means of sonata form or the sensory appeal of attractive themes and orchestration. While Schubert continued to be engaging in that way, he also introduced something different, allowing talented amateurs an experience of participating with him; by this means he could elevate and intensify the involvement of listeners by appealing to their own performance instincts without in any way reducing the quality of the musical encounter. The listener in Schubert's scheme of things becomes a performer, playing the role that Schubert himself does as performer of his own works, or

that his friends do in sharing that performance experience with him. In the process something extraordinary and unprecedented happens as the distance shrinks miraculously between Schubert and his listeners: a possibility for intimate exchange arises that gives an entirely new definition to the understanding of “personal.” Beethoven may be personal in his late string quartets, probing some of the most obscure and complex recesses of his soul, but he does not invite the listener to share his experience, only to observe it, as though assuming it will not be comprehended. Schubert, in contrast, invites the listener to share—in fact he demands that of the listener, beckoning us to feel his presence and join him in a world that we may be able to intuit and can confirm through his musical ability to describe it. In this invitation we can, as did his contemporaries, hear Schubert’s voice, with its sonorous tone of passion and intimacy, a voice that entices one to enter a realm one would not otherwise be able to fathom, describable only in music.

Schubert’s voice emerges uniquely from song, which, of course, emanates from poetry; the role of Schubert the singer permeates all else, giving him his distinctive voice. Without the poetry of Friedrich Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich von Matthisson, Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty, Wilhelm Müller, Matthäus von Collin, Mayrhofer, and even Schober, none of this would have been possible. Schubert’s experience of discovering poetry through the reading circle and the subsequent literary clubs, a not uncommon entry to literature at the time, runs very much parallel to his musical experience as well. In fact, just as one can see similarities between the emergence of the string quartet with its conversational style (and the intimate settings for quartet performances among family or friends, in parlors, or salons) and conversational elements in eighteenth-century literature, similar literary/musical connections hold for Schubert. Reading literature may be a solitary experience, involving one person locked away with a book, but in the clubs, salons, sewing circles, or other intimate gatherings that included reading aloud to a small group of enthusiasts, reading more often than not became a social event. Reading could be shared as a book passed from one person to the next, all feeling as though they were reading at the same moment.

Schubert’s musical world functioned very much like a literary club during the early part of his life, as he wrote his string quartets

for the family quartet and his symphonies for a group of friends and acquaintances who met for the purpose of reading his symphonies and any others that would be accessible. Even the Schubertiads of his later life, evenings of performances of his songs or other works in intimate settings, differ little from the format of the reading clubs. Poets aim at these readers, hoping that publication may follow, but they first wish to reach individuals and small groups; the poet/singer starts in the same way, and if publication follows, so much the better. If someone liked a song, he would, as Ilsa Barea describes, write to someone else about it, perhaps “to his girl about the last *Lied* ‘our Schubert’ had composed, and send her a copy to sing at home, say, at Linz.”¹⁹ Songs could spread like a chain letter, as intimate as correspondence to the “dear reader/singer participant,” forming an underground network that expanded well beyond the boundaries of Vienna.

Schubert did not invent the art song, but he brought an essence to it that changed it forever. His great contemporaries all excelled in art song, but for Schubert it became much more than a type of writing rounding out his fullness as a composer: it became a way of life. He wrote a staggering number of songs during his short life, around 630, and aside from the high quality of many of them, we must also be struck by the apparent significance these songs held for him. That is not to say that one can follow some sort of biographical progression with song texts; instead, the nature of the songs themselves invokes elements of personal significance that often reveal Schubert as a type of biased participant, apparently identifying with a character or some other facet, and transmitting the same response to the singer/listener. The songs open an extraordinary window to Schubert, as well as to his other works.

Schubert’s voice can be heard in some very subtle ways, not the least of which involves his use of expression marks. Some of these, such as the short or long wedge (hairpin) signs normally taken to signify dynamic variance, appear to have much less to do with dynamics than with alerting the performer to certain aspects of vocal quality. He seldom uses these signs in the voice parts of songs, and when he does he has a very specific reason; his piano accompaniments, though, brim with them, and almost invariably they ask the pianist to find the appropriate vocal gesture, introducing a special element of Schubert’s voice to his instrumental writing. It follows that the same

principle applies to purely instrumental music, giving it a distinctive sense of voice. The vocal element, of course, goes much further in the instrumental works, as songs play many roles in these works, some fairly overt, such as quotations of songs in sonatas or chamber works, or in much more subtle ways, such as using musical procedures that originated in songs, including unique tonal workings, or the idea of the song without words.

Of the various instruments that Schubert himself played, the piano is the one with the least inherently vocal quality because of its strings being struck instead of activated by air or stroked with a bow. Yet the piano emerged as Schubert's single most prized instrument, partly because of its great versatility in being able to carry a melody as well as full harmony, but also because it can be the instrument of blissfully isolated self-indulgence as well as a participant with others in ensemble—especially duos, trios, and quintets. Schubert by no means invented the notion of the singing piano; many of his predecessors knew perfectly well how to make a piano sing. Schubert, though, took the possibility much further than any other composer had, almost making a fetish of it. One gets a sense of how he feels about the piano with his song “An mein Klavier” (“To My Piano”) with text by Christian Friedrich Schubart, a love song to the piano that starts with the words “Sanftes Klavier”—“gentle piano.” Here singer and piano join together in a tender display of affection in which they become as one, the poet expressing complete devotion to his beloved piano, whispering his feelings to it and being stirred by its touch and sound to sensual and celestial ecstasy. This fusion suggests a poetic prospect that none of Schubert's contemporaries or predecessors had imagined—the possibility of the piano expressing a distinctive poetic voice fulfilling the same type of function that a poet achieves with verse. Schubert's great admirers of the next generation such as Schumann, Mendelssohn, Chopin, and Liszt understood what Schubert had pointed to and they fully realized the poetic potential of the piano.

Genius refuses to be bound by conventional labels of periodization or classification. Schubert may have lived in Biedermeier Vienna, and some of his output—especially dance music, some songs, and some chamber music—may subscribe to the *gemütlich* (cozy) Biedermeier spirit, but on the whole the extraordinary phenomenon of Franz Schubert cannot be accounted for by that classification—unlike

his contemporaries Adalbert Gyrowetz, Konradin Kreutzer, or Joseph Weigl. Some prefer to think of him as a Romantic, proceeding along the path laid out by August Wilhelm and Friedrich von Schlegel, W. H. Wackenroder, and Ludwig Tieck, and in this case one finds much more alignment than with Biedermeier, especially considering Schubert's literary inclinations, but even here the term *Romantic* does not give the full picture. Applying literary terms to music seems a slippery business at the best of times, and for a composer who starts from the premise of song, it proves especially troublesome since the Romantics such as E. T. A. Hoffmann moved in exactly the opposite direction, finding a new essence for poetry through comparisons with instrumental music with its indefinite or infinite qualities. Just as Goethe did not welcome being called a Romantic, not wishing to be dragged down to the level of the lesser poets who called themselves Romantics, the term also has limitations for Schubert, whose uniqueness transcends that classification.

Schubert's distinctiveness lies with his voice, a poetic voice, often melodic, emanating from the human throat, but sounding equally well through the piano or other groups of instruments in his way of making them sing. That voice can be subversive, just as Mozart's was; he could engage a large audience with the subtleties of political subterfuge in his operas, and Schubert (along with Schober) appears to have attempted something similar with the opera *Alfonso und Estrella*, although it did not reach the stage during his lifetime. Most other attempts at opera similarly faltered, and here he never found the means to parallel his success in embracing individuals or small groups, in which the music could spread through an underground network of transmission from one individual to the next, skirting the banishment of the censors who would not, in any event, have known how to find it objectionable. In some ways Schubert's music still disperses in that manner, of course through performances by major orchestras, choruses, or string quartets, but in no small measure through the army of devoted Schubertians who can find no substitute to playing his music for themselves, regardless of their level of performance skills. For them especially the distance from the composer seems almost nonexistent, and they can respond to his voice as one does to another person in conversation, picking up as much from the nuances as the content of what he may be saying.

The first part of this book looks at various topics that encompass Schubert's own orbit and creativity, although it resists becoming a biography in the usual sense. Musicians since Schubert's time, both composers and performers, have responded passionately to him, but perhaps not surprisingly some of the strongest responses to Schubert have come from the other arts, especially from novelists, playwrights, and filmmakers: this becomes the substance of the second part of the book. The finest of these, such as Ariel Dorfman, Elfriede Jelinek, Luis Buñuel, Stanley Kubrick, and Michael Haneke, have become co-conspirators, recognizing his essence in fascinating ways that have often eluded music critics, bringing an extension of his voice to their works in their recognition of both his darkest visions and his deepest aspirations. For some writers and filmmakers, certain works by Schubert stand out, which they integrate into the fabric of their works, most notably *Winterreise* (*Winter's Journey*), the String Quartet in D minor (*Death and the Maiden*, D810), the slow movements of the Piano Trio in E flat (D929), the Piano Sonata in A (D959), the Quintet in C (D956), and some others. The capacity of these works to go through a process of putting forward something nostalgic, followed by destruction of the memory, and then moving to an attempted return (usually unsuccessful), has especially attracted these writers and filmmakers. The works will be looked at individually before the discussions in the last three chapters of how these artists have infused them into their works.

Schubert's distinctive voice encompasses joyful subversion, pain, and recognition of complexities of the self; it embraces a mixture of masculine and feminine; and it probes various aspects of sexuality, dualities impossible to reconcile, the absurdities of existence, the search for salvation in nature, the longing for something better or different (things are better where you are not), the joys of camaraderie, the internalizing of rebellion, and wandering (traveling with a lack of clear direction) led by irrational forces. The voice may be strong, plaintive, seductive, muted, clear, haunting, or urgent, and it may speak through different characters who may seem contradictory. Schubert's voice remains among us through our performance of it, and often stunningly as well through some of the greatest achievements in writing and filmmaking in recent time.

NOTES

1. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 441.
2. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 828.
3. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 24.
4. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 28–29.
5. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 254.
6. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 185–86.
7. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 69.
8. Barry Millington, *Wagner*, revised ed. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 247.
9. Eduard Hanslick, preface to *The Beautiful in Music*, 7th ed., trans. Gustav Cohen (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), 4.
10. Otto Erich Deutsch, “The Reception of Schubert’s Works in England,” *Monthly Musical Record* 81 (1951): 202–03.
11. Hanslick, preface to *The Beautiful*, 4.
12. Hanslick, preface to *The Beautiful*, 4.
13. Eduard Hanslick, “Schubert’s ‘Unfinished’ Symphony (1865),” in *Vienna’s Golden Years of Music 1850–1900*, trans. Henry Pleasants III (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 103–04.
14. Christopher H. Gibbs, “Poor Schubert: Images and Legends of the Composer,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 37.
15. In his article, “Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini,” *19th-Century Music* 12 (1989):193–206, Maynard Solomon has prompted not only biographers but novelists, playwrights, and filmmakers to consider the question of Schubert’s homosexuality. Elizabeth Norman McKay speculates that Schubert may have used opium in *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 125–28 and 155–57.
16. Much of this has come from the pen of Rita Steblin in these books and articles: *Babette und Therese Kunz. Neue Forschungen zum Freundeskreis um Franz Schubert und Leopold Kupelwieser* (Vienna: Pasqualatihaus, 1996); “In Defense of Scholarship and Archival Research: Why Schubert’s Brothers Were Allowed to Marry,” *Current Musicology* 62 (1998): 7–17; “The Peacock’s Tale: Schubert’s Sexuality Reconsidered,” *19th-Century Music* 17 (1993): 5–33; “Schubert’s ‘Nina’ and the True Peacocks,” *The Musical Times* 138 (March 1997): 13–19; and “Schubert’s Relationship with Women: An Historical Account,” in *Schubert Studies*, ed. Brian Newbould (Aldershot,

U.K.: Ashgate, 1998), 220–43. Contra Steblin, one finds an issue of *19th-Century Music* (17 [1993]) devoted to this matter. Articles include Maynard Solomon, “Schubert: Some Consequences of Nostalgia,” 34–46; Kofi Agawu, “Schubert’s Sexuality: A Prescription for Analysis?” 79–82; Susan McClary, “Music and Sexuality: On the Steblin/Solomon Debate,” 83–88; James Webster, “Music, Pathology, Sexuality, Beethoven, Schubert,” 89–93; and Robert S. Winter, “Whose Schubert?” 94–101.

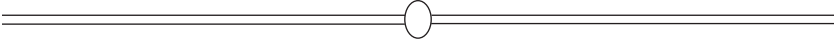
17. John Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14.

18. For a description of these groups see David Gramit, “‘The Passion for Friendship’: Music, Cultivation, and Identity in Schubert’s Circle,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56–71.

19. Ilsa Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966), 137.

DropBooks

Part One



HIS LIFETIME

DropBooks

Chapter One

Speaking in the First Person

THE FRENCH BOMBARDMENT OF VIENNA started at 9 o'clock in the evening on 12 May 1809, and from his vantage point at the dormitory of the Imperial and Royal City Seminary, less than half a kilometer from the Hofburg, Josef von Spaun had an especially good position to view the events of that night. Prevented with his fellow seminarians from enlisting, Spaun could do nothing but watch the spectacle in amazement: "It was a magnificent sight to see the glowing cannonballs curving across the night sky, while the many conflagrations reddened the sky."¹ Awe quickly changed to concern when one landed too close for comfort, and then, "all of a sudden there was a crash in the house itself, a howitzer shell having fallen on the Seminary building. It penetrated every floor down to the first and burst on the first floor in Prefect Walch's room." Walch survived, but when Spaun reflected on this in 1864, over half a century later as a man in his mid-seventies, he could not resist noting that not everyone would have necessarily been saddened by the deaths of the Prefects who relished making their lives miserable: "Some young rascals among us were sorry it turned out like that, as otherwise we should have been rid of three unpopular tormentors." By "young rascals," Spaun does not mean twenty-year-old university law students such as himself, but instead the young choristers of the Court Chapel who also lived at the Seminary. Some were no older than eleven, and one of them, twelve at the time, was Franz Schubert.

Schubert's father, a poor schoolmaster fully conscious of the benefits of a good education, had high aspirations for his bright son. For the best opportunities, the child would need to go to the finest possible school, but financially this fell beyond Franz Theodor Florian Schubert's reach. One possible option existed, the I. & R. City Seminary (K.k. Stadtkonvikt—"Konvikt" derived from the Latin *convictorium*, or a communal house), founded in 1803 by Emperor Franz as a replacement for the Jesuit seminary dissolved by Joseph II. The school occupied the old university building, close to the majestic Stephansdom, and control of it lay in the hands of Piarists. The younger students attended the neighboring grammar school, with their education in the hands of the brethren of the Piarist order, while those who completed this university prep foundation became undergraduates at the university.

The seminarians and the choirboys of the court chapel in the imperial palace, along with older singers and violinists for the church in Am Hof square, resided together and received support from the court through special endowments. The boy sopranos of the imperial court chapel choir could easily have been ground down by the drudgery of their existence, with a rigorous performance and rehearsal schedule on top of their academic and musical studies. Lest they should misbehave on the streets of Vienna, they wore uniforms that allowed their eagle-eyed masters to spot them from a mile away—an old-fashioned three-cornered hat; a white neckerchief; a dark-brown, open coat with a small gilt epaulet on the left shoulder; light, polished buttons; an even more outdated waistcoat hanging down over the stomach; knickerbockers with straps; and buckled shoes (but, thankfully, no sword). In the streets they stuck out like sore thumbs, but probably induced little laughter from passers-by because they were better dressed than the other boys in the street. Their conductor and singing master, Philipp Korner, wore a long, thin pigtail and looked as old-fashioned as the boys. He tormented them with cuffings and ear pulling, according to Anton Holzapfel, who endured this treatment along with Schubert.²

Of the roughly 130 boarders, many hailed from noble military families; each of the seven houses had a room for the prefect, a study hall, and a dormitory, and the largest establishment had its own modest library. Optional subjects included French, Italian, drawing,

calligraphy, and music, although the choirboys of course had to take music.³

An announcement of openings for choristers appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 28 May 1808, and the elder Schubert took due notice:

Two boy choristers' appointments having to be newly filled in the I. & R. Court Chapel, those who wish to obtain these posts are to present themselves on 30th September at 3 p.m., at the I. & R. Seminary, 796 Universitätplatz, and to undergo an examination, as regards both the progress made by them in their studies and such knowledge as they may have already gained in music, and to bring their school certificates with them.⁴

Yet another notice turned up on 3 August 1808, for a soprano, to audition on 1 October; the candidate should possess "a good voice and [have] been well instructed in singing." Documents also had to be submitted to confirm good health, especially that the danger of smallpox no longer existed.

From Schubert's father's perspective, a school such as this would be hard to beat, and since Schubert displayed early musical talent and could more or less live on the choristers' endowment, nothing would be lost by taking the audition. Schubert went to the 30 September audition, a daunting affair presided over by none other than the formidable composer and Imperial Court Music Director Antonio Salieri. On the certificate submitted immediately after the audition, Salieri wrote that "the best among the sopranos are Francesco Schubert and Francesco Müllner."⁵ The Seminary's music director Franz Innocenz Lang confirmed in his certificate a day later that these two boys "also excel all the others in preliminary knowledge." Not only did Schubert get in, he did so with flying colors. His career as a chorister lasted until 1812, at which time, according to the official decree, "the two boys in the I. & R. Court Chapel, Franz Schubert and Franz Müllner, have suffered mutation of their voices."⁶ A few days later Schubert commemorated the sad event of the changing of his voice with a scrawl in the alto part of the score of Peter Winter's first Mass: "Schubert, Franz, crowed for the last time, 26th July 1812."⁷ In his next report card, he still received his usual "very good" in singing, but now the remarks included "voice broken." As a good student he could remain at the school until October 1813.

By the beginning of 1811, the memory of the monumental events of Napoleon's bombardment had receded, and the holes in the dormitory floors of the Seminary left by errant shells had been patched. The Seminary may have been one of the finest schools in the empire, but the boys attending it could live only as well as their family's resources permitted. If one came from a struggling family, as did Schubert, that meant long and rigorous days with the bare means of subsistence only, a modest lunch at mid-day, and, according to Schubert in his first known letter—a plea for help to his brother Ferdinand in 1812—"a wretched supper 8½ hours later." He did well academically, despite the constant hole he felt in his stomach, which prompted him to ask his brother for one or two kreutzers each month to supplement the few groschen from his father, which "are all spent—the devil knows how—in the first few days."⁸

Recognition as "a special musical talent" allowed special treatment, and on top of the exacting academic and musical schedule of the school, Schubert could make his way daily down the Graben to the residence of Salieri for lessons in composition. Salieri had Vienna in the palm of his hand and managed to maintain his position of supreme musical authority for many years, convincing emperors as different as Joseph II and Franz that he knew best what music should be performed in Vienna—in the case of opera, frequently his own. Salieri took special interest in Schubert, and, according to Schubert's fellow composition pupil, Anselm Hüttenbrenner, Schubert received, among other things, gifts from his teacher of "ice cream, which was obtainable from a lemonade kiosk in the Graben."⁹

Schubert happily took advantage of the reputation gained from an association with the master, and dedicated early works to him with grateful veneration. Like any Italian composer, especially one with the position he held in Vienna, Salieri believed a composer's only serious calling lay in opera, and he saw no other course for Schubert. Schubert bought into this to some extent, and that resulted in a flurry of youthful operas, but other powerful influences on Schubert pulled in a different direction, especially toward German literature in the reading society of his circle of friends. According to Spaun, Schubert eventually had to make a choice: "When Salieri repeatedly took Schubert seriously to task for occupying himself with poems in the barbarous German language and requested him not to compose

anything more at all in German but, to set to music insignificant Italian poems, Schubert lost patience."¹⁰

Spaun kept a close watch over the youthful Schubert, who, aside from not getting enough to eat, seemed incapable of making friends at the Seminary; Spaun claimed he "did not seem to find the institution congenial, for the little boy was always serious and not very amiable."¹¹ Long days of tedious study no doubt sapped his energy, but he quickly found pastimes to revitalize himself—certainly writing music, and also searching for possible compositional models. Spaun stumbled upon Schubert immersed in one of these models, informing us that "he had several of Zumsteeg's songs in front of him and told me that these songs moved him profoundly. . . . He said he could revel in these songs for days on end."¹² Schubert not only reveled but they triggered some of his earliest compositional efforts, lengthy songs echoing Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg's mixture of high drama and recitative with gentler lyrical sections.

EARLY LAMENTS

If Spaun had entered Schubert's room on 30 March 1811, he would have found his fourteen-year-old friend finishing up a song that would be the barely pubescent composer's first surviving work, "Hagars Klage" ("Hagar's Lament"). The nineteen-stanza text by Clemens August Schücking had all the elements that appealed to the young Schubert, and some of these would follow him through the rest of his life in selecting texts: high drama, pathos, and moments of tenderness. Hagar, the Egyptian slave of Abraham's wife Sarah, found in Genesis 17 and 21, bears a child, Ishmael, to Abraham, and must wander in the wilderness and watch her child dying of thirst. In Genesis God rescues them with water, but not so in the text by Schücking used by Schubert; it ends with "Gott, sein Herr! verschmäh' das Flehen Des unschuld'gen Knaben nicht" ("God, his Lord, do not spurn the entreaties of this innocent boy").¹³

While the hungry chorister may have felt some affinity with the starving child, already at fourteen he could move beyond that type of raw association and make a much deeper connection with Hagar herself. This is her story, not the boy's, and Schubert could empathize

with her suffering as the one rejected by Abraham who must watch her child starve. Hagar narrates her story as a *Klage*, a lament; one quickly notices that Schubert often sets laments by female characters in his early songs, including his second surviving song, “Des Mädchens Klage,” along with “Klagelied” and various other laments not necessarily identified as such by their titles. In selecting texts of this nature, Schubert stood in good poetic company, following a common thread among a number of German and English poets. The female subjects of these texts found themselves confronted by irreconcilable forces, with the male poets who created them reaching to the heart of their own romantic dilemmas; since resolution proved not to be an option, nothing remained but to tell of one’s distress, to tell it beautifully as a lament, and, in the telling, to find release. In discovering the expressive power of the lament in his early songs, Schubert laid the groundwork for his entire creative life.

These female laments, making up close to half of all his early songs, have something in common that appears to have appealed to Schubert more than anything else: they speak in the first person. Whether the poets identified with them one cannot say, but Schubert could not help doing so, and his musical treatment makes this apparent. The female protagonists of these texts generally find themselves in impossible situations, damned if they do and damned if they don’t, with no one to turn to and unable to solicit even God’s help. Since no solution to their plight exists, they can do nothing but turn inward, marshalling what little breath they have left to sing a lament, not to someone who might happen to hear it but to themselves, submerged in the fullness of emotion as their end approaches. This plays itself out in the extreme in “Hagars Klage,” as Hagar has been rejected and abhorred by the esteemed patriarch, and so she can turn to no one for help, but must watch her child—Abraham’s son, the innocent result of indiscretion—dying of thirst. She has heard the prophesy that Ishmael “will achieve greatness, and his descendants will be numerous,” but at the moment that seems improbable as his life hangs by a thread.

Of course this is all juvenile blood and thunder, and Schubert met it with a juvenile musical setting, but small twists and turns creep in that suggest this was something other than a mere compositional exercise. “Hagars Klage” may have been too full of bombast to be taken personally by Schubert, but that changed dramatically in his next song

(if not his second, certainly one of the first five or six), Friedrich Schiller's "Des Mädchens Klage" ("The Girl's Lament"). Here the girl finds herself in a desperate situation with no way out, and the narration of the first stanza shifts to her speaking in the first person in the second stanza. Schubert could sink his teeth into this text, in which the anger of nature in the first stanza mirrors the young woman's distress with wrenching noise in the woods, rushing clouds, churning waters, and the ominous darkness of night. This may seem not all that far removed from the rant of "Hagars Klage," and for Schubert the possible point of identifiable entry comes in the second stanza as she now speaks in the first person, in fact placed in quotation marks by Schiller to clarify the girl as speaker. She explains with tear-filled eyes her hopeless dilemma: after her sexual awakening, love has died, and she now has neither the physical ecstasy nor the protection of her child-like innocence. A sense of despair threatens her, as a stream of tears suggests her hopeless condition. We learn in the third stanza that a celestial being will offer some sort of comfort and consolation to a woman denied both love and sanctuary, and that this will not be denied to her. In the fourth stanza, she responds to the urging of the Holy One, reflecting on what will give her comfort: "The sweetest consolation for the mourning breast, after the ecstasy of magical love has vanished, is the sorrow and lament of love" ("sind der Liebe Schmerzen und Klagen"). Schubert echoes this conclusion in a line from his allegorical tale "My Dream" of 1822: "When I wanted to sing of sorrow it was transformed for me into love."¹⁴ A text such as this one by Schiller made it difficult for Schubert to stand by as an unbiased observer.

Schubert's earliest laments do not entirely free themselves from the influence of Zumsteeg's histrionics, with contrasting sections moving from *Sturm und Drang* states of desperation or defeat to epiphany, with many dramatic possibilities between the two. To represent these various states he uses the appropriate musical *topoi*, or identifiers, ranging from storm-like passages to lyrical or hymn styles. Keys and modulations play a crucial role in these musical representations and progressions. Of the various keys he visits in "Hagars Klage," two of the most prominent are D minor and C major. Both of these keys had strong associations during the eighteenth century, and Schubert undoubtedly knew this. Composers used D minor to represent storms and death,¹⁵ and they used C major in symphonies for festive occasions;

Haydn used C major strikingly in *The Creation* as the key for God's creation of light.

Taking a large step beyond "Hagars Klage," D minor and C major become the tonal backbone of "Des Mädchens Klage." Schubert represents, as one would expect, the angry nature of the first strophe in D minor, in an *allegro agitato* passage reminiscent of the stormy aria "Rolling in Foaming Billows" from Haydn's *Creation*. The second stanza, beginning with the girl speaking in the first person, "Das Herz ist gestorben" ("My heart is dead"), appropriately continues in D minor. In contrast, the conclusion of the song offers a C major epiphany, all at a *pianissimo* level with the expressive indication of *dolce*. The lament has now given way to pure lyrical beauty in the key of hope, celebration, and God's creative strength, and in this key the song ends. The song, in fact, has progressed from the brink of destruction to epiphany, a course Schubert would follow in later songs and instrumental works as well. The girl's salvation lies in the transformation of sorrow into beautiful song; in the musical representation of this, Schubert found his own *raison d'être* as a songwriter. This type of feminine dilemma, with its value placed on the states of vulnerability and sensitivity, became a preeminent theme in Schubert's early songs, and allowed him to personalize these laments.

If a student from Schubert's modest background found his body being starved at the Seminary, every student experienced an appalling mental starvation inflicted by Emperor Franz's decrees on education, willingly applied by tormentors like Prefect Walch and his churlish colleagues. The curriculum followed the century-old *Institutio ad eloquentiam*, with its emphasis on classical rhetoric in a mode of delivery that even the hopelessly outdated Johann Christoph Gottsched would have found tedious. A curriculum more stultifying can scarcely be imagined. Chances of contemporary German writers seeping into this curriculum seemed remote, and only a few exceptions did—whose works may have reinforced the then-sanctioned classical principles.

As often happens at schools that attract good students, if the curriculum and teachers cannot offer a stimulating education, the students will provide it for themselves. The mixture of young boys with young men in the residence, with an age span of as much as ten years, meant that the education of the younger ones encompassed much more than the instruction they received in the classroom. In

1810, only two years after Schubert's arrival at the school, a group of older boys that included Johann Mayrhofer, Anton Ottenwalt, Josef von Spaun, Franz von Schober, Johann Senn, and Franz von Bruchmann, started a reading society, declaring it a brotherhood in 1811, the year of the Great Comet, as though their own perspicacious aspirations, which would have appeared to their teachers to come from the dark side of the moon, hit with a force intended to dislodge intellectual cobwebs. They declared their intentions as being "love of the good,"¹⁶ and participation required assiduous mental activity, but they appeared also to have more subversive goals driven by a desire to immerse themselves in the most recent German literature. In Vienna, a city with a long history of censorship, getting new works could prove challenging, but little by little they managed to find them. They discovered the works of Herder, Jean Paul, and Friedrich Jacobi, all of which exposed them to an emotional side of literature they would not have guessed existed from their school curriculum. Most importantly, they encountered the works of the two finest German writers, Schiller and Goethe. The Bildungs circle discovered the young Schubert as a worthy potential member, and happily welcomed his entry.¹⁷ Schubert stayed firmly entrenched in the group as long as he remained at school, and continued throughout his life to be active in similar reading societies with these friends and eventually new ones.

The works of Schiller made their way to Austria in dribs and drabs, partly because his political views, as in his play *Wilhelm Tell*, threatened the authorities. Censors banned his works, but censorship of course could be manipulated, or books could circulate through a literary underground; Schiller's works did eventually fall into the hands of these literature-starved students. Not only the poetry and plays, but his writing on aesthetics also became familiar to them; here they no doubt discovered his notions of feminization, an abandonment of traditional notions of male dominance, and a recognition of dual sexual forces within the self that had much in common with Shelley, Wordsworth, Blake, Friedrich von Schlegel, and the lesser poet Friedrich von Matthisson. Schubert could not help but be influenced by this reading, and one sees these ideas infiltrating his earliest songs, most strikingly in the laments in feminine voices. In this approach traditional male strength becomes a deficit as one searches for the crux of value in the feminine.¹⁸ The notions of the sexes may still be stereotypical,

but their values can be reversed, as happens in Schiller's *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*:

And even as beauty resolves the conflict between opposing natures in this simplest and clearest paradigm, the eternal antagonism of the sexes, so too does it resolve it—or at least aims at resolving it—in the complex whole of society, endeavouring to reconcile the gentle with the violent in the moral world after the pattern of the free union it there contrives between the strength of man and the gentleness of woman. Now weakness becomes sacred, and unbridled strength dishonourable; the injustice of nature is rectified by the magnanimity of the chivalric code.¹⁹

Presumably this kind of thinking struck a rich chord with the Bildungs circle since it seems much more likely that the teenaged Schubert would have discovered this notion among his avid reader friends than on his own. Since this type of feminine dilemma, with its value placed on the states of vulnerability and sensitivity, became a preeminent theme in Schubert's early songs, he almost certainly saw it belonging to himself—that he could somehow personalize these laments.

After leaving the Seminary, the texts that most interested Schubert included a number that focus on Laura, the muse of Petrarch, transformed by writers such as Schiller and Matthisson into a contemporary muse. The image of Laura could even be fused with the image of the piano, as happens in Schiller's "Laura am Klavier," a text Schubert would set a few years later. In 1814 he set "Die Betende" and "An Laura," both by Matthisson. He returned home to live with his parents, and grimly had to face the annoyance of spending ten months in the imperial teachers' training college, which he entered in November 1813 at the age of sixteen, with the dismal prospect of becoming an assistant elementary school teacher. Not all ran smoothly living in his father's home; the subject of religion excluded jokes and amusing anecdotes, and perhaps in protest or maybe just out of declining interest, Schubert received the grade of "bad" in religion. This may have been a matter of concern to his instructors, but it did not prevent him from receiving the necessary qualifications to enter the teaching profession.

While at the teachers' college he kept studying composition with Salieri, and despite the Italian's warnings about lack of musicality in

the German language, he continued with his settings in that language, now with a sophistication far surpassing the previous few years. The first of Schubert's Laura songs, Matthiesson's "Die Betende" ("Laura at Prayer") came in April 1814, roughly half a year into his term at the teachers' college. He remained in touch with some of his close friends from the Seminary, but otherwise lived a fairly Spartan life, and he relied on texts such as this one to get him through the foreseeable future. Drawing on the implied sensuality in the text, embodied in the fact that Laura's spirituality derives in part from her erotic appeal, Schubert provided music that, while hymn-like, proceeds in a way not likely to be found in hymns. Lyrically and melodically his most successful song to date, it finds a sensuality moving well beyond the hymn style.

Roughly six months after writing "Die Betende," Schubert passed through the doors of the teachers' college for the last time, and in October 1814 enjoyed a few idle weeks before the drudgery of teaching in his father's school set in. Teaching proved to be one of the few ways that someone from the lower classes could raise himself socially, perhaps not very high, but at least to a point of gaining some respect and a financial status slightly or even somewhat above abject poverty. Schubert's father had done it, and Schubert himself had little choice after he ceased to be a chorister but to follow the same course.

Teaching did not go well for Schubert. His friend Johann Mayrhofer recalled in his 1829 memorial to the composer that Schubert served as "an assistant teacher, a hard lot, time-wasting, arduous and on the whole thankless, for my youthful, aspiring friend, whose life lay in melody. . . . the art of music and the interest of a few friends may have consoled and fortified him in such a depressing situation."²⁰ As bad as things may have been during 1815 as an eighteen-year-old full-time teacher, Schubert wrote an astounding amount of music, including almost 150 songs, two symphonies, a string quartet, and two piano sonatas, as well as a piano variation and dances, four operas, two masses and six other liturgical works, and numerous works for various vocal combinations. In fact, he acquired the nickname "Canevas" during this time, a slurred contraction of "Kann er was?" ("Can he do anything?"), the question he invariably asked of any new member in the circle of friends. Considering Schubert's own astonishing productivity in both quantity and quality, he had every right to ask the question.

Mayrhofer knew perfectly well that this productivity, which continued close to the same stunning rate in 1816, rescued Schubert's mind from the drudgery of teaching, but things could not continue that way indefinitely: he had to be plucked from the clutches of his parochial father. Schubert's indolent and subversive friend, Franz von Schober, claimed the honor of making the rescue, but in his recollection some sixty years after the fact, embellishment no doubt inflates his account: "I shall always retain the eternally uplifting feeling of having freed this immortal master from the constraints of school, and of having led him on his predestined path of independent, spiritual creation, and of having been united with him in true and most intimate friendship right up till his last breath."²¹ As to the rescue he exaggerates slightly; late in 1816 Schober offered temporary lodging to Schubert at his family residence in the inner city, freeing Schubert from his own religiously oppressive family home, but Schubert continued to teach off and on for almost two more years and he moved back to his parents' house after less than a year. Still, it turned out to be the beginning of the end for Schubert as a teacher. Schubert ended his unwanted career in the classroom at the age of twenty-one, surely glad to see the last of the little wretches in his care, but even more to sever the grasp of his stern father.

He could escape the disagreeable surroundings of home by slipping over to his favorite neighbors, the Grobs, where he lived "like an adopted son in the house,"²² attracted not only by the lively music making there but also by the daughter of the house, Theresa. Schubert himself gave this description of the young soprano: "not exactly pretty and her face had pockmarks; but she had a heart, a heart of gold."²³ Legend has turned Theresa into his great love, fiancée, and finally heartbreaker when they did not marry, but all of this is speculation based on Anselm Hüttenbrenner's wistful account many years later. As congenial as life may have been at the Grobs, nothing could replace for Schubert the hours of composing in isolation, and October saw a burst of that. The opera he had started a year earlier, *Des Teufels Lustschloss* (*The Devil's Pleasure Palace*), with a text by the soon-to-be-assassinated August von Kotzebue, has an eerie similarity to *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, with everything but a Tim Curry in drag. This project took priority during the first three weeks of that month and he finished it on 22 October.

Songs flowed freely, with half a dozen of them, mostly to texts by Matthiesson, during the same three-week period. Something happened to his composing in October, not, one suspects, because of Theresa, but as the result of a force within that stirred Schubert profoundly, as his songs now found expressive energy unlike any of the previous ones. Both the feminization and being able to speak through the first person would continue in these songs, and in his finest song immediately prior to “Gretchen am Spinnrade,” he once again embraced Laura, using a text by Matthiesson that invokes Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock’s “Auferstehungslied” (“Resurrection Song”): “An Laura, als sie Klopstocks Auferstehungslied sang” (“To Laura, when she was singing Klopstock’s ‘Resurrection Song’”). Now he went far beyond “Die Betende” into an inner world that would allow him to turn the lied from a casual type of parlor composition to the most intimate possible art form. No longer a youthful experiment, “An Laura” tips the hand of the writer of the masterpiece to come a mere few days later.

AT THE SPINNING WHEEL

One of the great moments of Schubert’s career happened during the few weeks of calm between teachers’ college and beginning teaching, yet we know nothing of it from friends, family, or Schubert himself, aside from the astonishing work itself. One way or another during this time he got his hands on a copy of part one of Goethe’s *Faust*, and anyone who encounters this work will have some inkling of the force it must have exerted on the seventeen-year-old Schubert in the fall of 1814. Most of us read it passively, marveling at its images, language, characters, and vision, but not Schubert. In leaping from the prelude in the theater through the prologue in heaven, into the night in Faust’s Gothic study to meeting Mephistopheles, through the adventures of the rejuvenated Faust with the devil as his tour guide to his desire for Gretchen, through the witches’ Sabbath to romance, and finally the utter desecration of Gretchen, Schubert could not read these hundred and some pages with the enthusiasm of most readers; he had to live it himself. In so doing it was not Faust who interested him, the character that Goethe himself would have identified with, but Gretchen, the girl pulled from her safe little world into the highest stirrings of ecstasy

and then to the depths of degradation, scarcely aware of her actions as she commits infanticide. A decade later a mature Schubert would describe his pitiable situation to his friend Leopold Kupelwieser by quoting Gretchen: “Meine Ruh ist hin, mein Herz ist schwer, Ich finde sie nimmer und nimmer mehr” (“My peace is gone, my heart is heavy, I will never, never again find it”).²⁴

In 1814, with the entire text of this magnificent work to choose from, Schubert went directly to Gretchen in the privacy and isolation of the room that should be her refuge, deliriously contemplating her new circumstances, knowing her life will never be the same again and consumed now by reckless passion. The text itself leaps out from the pages of *Faust*, set in striking dimeter unlike anything else in the work, and it hits the reader with a directness and simplicity that intensify its effect. When Schubert came to these lines he reacted more than strongly: he found himself transformed into Gretchen herself, sharing every inch of her ecstasy and apprehension, now going to an extreme length with her in the first person as his musical voice draws something from within himself that wrestles the text away from Goethe. For Goethe she had to be convincing, and that she is, upstaging Faust and the devil himself as we feel her tragedy to the fullest, but she remained for her author a vessel in the hands of a male search for salvation. In the end she can play a role in that salvation, representing “das Ewig-Weibliche” (the eternal feminine), but as a passive creature she can be destroyed, and Faust not be condemned for his actions. His devil-driven actions take center stage, and through her he is prompted to discover the possibility of a fusion of male action and ascendancy to feminine aesthetic purity: thus the concluding lines of part two “Das Ewig-Weibliche Zieht uns hinan” (“the eternal feminine draws us to higher spheres”).²⁵

Schubert would have none of this, and of course he had no idea what part two would bring; for him Gretchen served no such masculine end. As in his setting of *Erlkönig* a year later, in which he got under the child’s skin and experienced the terror of the ballad through the child’s eyes, here he enters Gretchen’s persona completely and lives to the fullest her loss of peace, her misdirected ecstasy, her irreconcilable dilemma, and her ultimate tone of lament.

Considering what he had already done with earlier texts, Schubert’s setting of Goethe’s “Gretchen am Spinnrade” should not be thought of

as a happy accident that launched a brilliant career. While Gretchen may be more profound than Matthisson's Laura or Schiller's Mädchen, she still shares a sisterhood with these women, presented by Goethe in this soliloquy with freedom from affectation and a simplicity of meter and rhyme scheme. Steeped in religion and morality, and motivated by a strong work ethic, Gretchen hails from a humble background; when told to do her duty, she obeys. Her small, neat room serves as her cloister, her sanctuary, and in it she does what all good girls of her class would do after finishing the other household chores: she spins. While physically attractive, she feels embarrassment in the presence of higher classes because of her rough hands, caused by activities like spinning, and her plain clothes and lack of jewelry. In the normal unfolding of her life she could look forward to a proposal of marriage from the local baker or cobbler and to a sheltered life of domestic stability and simplicity as a dutiful wife and diligent mother. At no time should her thoughts be troubled by emotional and sexual ecstasy, by illicit love affairs with dark and devilishly handsome strangers: from this she should be protected by her physical and spiritual sanctuary.

In placing Gretchen alone in her room at the spinning wheel for this reverie, Goethe lavishes on her one of the most persistent of eighteenth-century feminine images. The simple iambic dimeter used here, unique at this point in the work, has a monotonous motion akin to the turning of the spinning wheel. Now she spins the thread of what has happened so far—the excitement of love, touching, kissing, his magical words—and the thread extends beyond what already has taken place, to the erotic expectation of “kisses” completely unrestrained. Ambivalence fuels her reverie, on the one hand ecstatic, but on the other aware that the loss of peace signifies the end of the protection of the sanctuary. Faust woos her with expensive jewelry and speaks in a higher form of language than she normally hears. She surely understands even at this point the illicitness of the affair, that Faust wishes to exploit her as a *süßes Mädchen* (an affectionate but frivolous young working-class woman) in the fashion portrayed by Arthur Schnitzler in Vienna late in the nineteenth century, and that things can come only to a bad end. Perhaps in Schnitzler's world these liaisons could be accepted as diversions before marriage, but not in Goethe's. Women who gave in to seduction late in the eighteenth

century were not forgiven for their indiscretions. Society marked them as outcasts, not acceptable for marriage, and suicide proved to be an all-too-common recourse.²⁶ When Gretchen concludes, “An seinen Küssen vergehen sollt” (“I should pass away from his kisses”), the apparent death or oblivion reference may very well point to much more than losing herself in bliss.

The spinning wheel, an archetypal feminine image with a prominent place in German folk tales, stands as a most appropriate image of her ambivalence. Typically, these tales link spinning with poverty; if women of the nobility spin, it usually suggests some form of degradation.²⁷ In many instances, writers of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century link spinning with grief or misery.²⁸ A girl’s character can be judged by how diligently she spins, or the spinning itself may be a cause of ugliness or a coarse appearance. Rarely do men spin, and women do it either alone or in groups as an evening activity where tales can be told or morals can be reinforced. Other possibilities, though, have been noted, including the telling of risqué tales or the focus on sexuality, sensuality, and emotions not part of family life among the youthful, unmarried women in the villages.²⁹

With this text and its associations, Schubert could not have hoped for anything better for discovering just how far he could go with song, in fact in allowing it to become a personal statement for himself as he identifies with the quandary that grips Gretchen. To do this he needed to find the musical means for making that kind of identification apparent, and he started by taking the spinning wheel image further than Goethe’s iambic dimeter, now fusing it with another image of the sanctuary, the piano. Of course he represents the motion of the spinning wheel in the accompaniment, the right hand at the beginning giving us the wheel turning while the left hand, with its slightly off-beat rhythm, brings in the pedals of the apparatus. He represents this motion so obviously that the effect at first may seem not especially interesting; the interest, in fact, comes later when he deviates from it in some very subtle ways that can shift the image in the forefront from the spinning wheel to the piano.

In some of the earlier songs, key relationships were important, especially the relationship of D minor and C major, and now he takes that much further, treating it in an unexpected way and using it as the gateway to his personal reading. The song, as one would expect,

starts in the key of D minor; unlike in earlier songs, in which D minor represented storms or had links with death, now the only storm is the latent one of peace having been lost. He accentuates that by altering Goethe's third line from the regular dimeter to a trimeter by adding a foot, repeating the words "Ich finde" ("I find") and he accompanies this metric solecism with an equally incongruous shift to C major at bar 7, without so much as a dominant chord to prepare the new tonal arrival (Example 1.1). Schubert undoubtedly knew Beethoven's approach to

Nicht zu geschwind $\text{♩} = 72$

Mei - ne Ruh' ist

4 hin, mein Herz ist schwer, ich fin - de, ich

8 fin - de sie nim - mer und nim - mer mehr.

pp

f

decresc.

Example 1.1.

D minor works or movements, as in the slow movement of Op. 10, no. 3, and the finale of Op. 31, no. 2, both piano sonatas, or the slow movement of the *Geistertrio* (Op. 70, no. 1) in which he treats D as the logical progression leading to the dominant of C. As abrupt as that may seem, Schubert goes further, setting D minor and C major side by side with no hint of the usual connector (G, the dominant of C). Here he finds the ideal music to exploit the dualism of the text with what amounts to a tonally subversive progression (a non-progression in traditional harmony), as the text jerks Gretchen from the safety of the sanctuary to the dislocation and ecstasy of illicit love.

Unexpectedly, D minor now provides stability—in spite of the text, which speaks of lost peace—as it gives us a recurring home-key figure in the accompaniment, begins *pianissimo*, and introduces a more or less tranquil melody that appears to launch a regular phrasing pattern. C major, associated in “Des Mädchens Klage” with hope, celebration, and God’s intervention, now intrudes as a disruptive force as it quickly moves to an abrasive *forte* at bar 8, uses an angular and disjunctive melody, and with the extra metric foot (the repeated “Ich finde”) loses the phrase pattern, as this phrase has five bars (see Example 1.1). In the opening D minor statement the potential for lament exists since the loss of peace is mollified by musical serenity. C major, though, awakens disruptive ecstasy that sustains Gretchen’s illicit love in the present tense and prevents any sort of transcendence of time in which the state of lament could be possible.³⁰

If lament, or the condition of romantic release, cannot be found, an overriding danger lies in the possibility of its replacement by madness. Gretchen’s world depends now on Faust’s presence: “Wo ich ihn nicht hab’, ist mir das Grab, die ganze Welt ist mir vergällt” (“When I do not have him, it’s like death, the whole world is spoiled”). Death lurks either way: its void engulfs her without him and it awaits her when she will be abandoned. Her poor mind cannot bear the conflict, and already madness threatens her: “Mein armer Kopf ist mir verrückt, mein armer Sinn ist mir zerstückt” (“My poor head is going mad, my poor mind is devastated”). These lines, like those of the delirious child in *Erlkönig*, resound loudly and in the high register, and the melody introduces an element of dissonance not previously heard. Her room and house no longer offer an inward-looking protective sanctuary but seem more a confining attic in which she resides as the trapped

madwoman. She now has only one desire, to look for Faust out of the window, beyond her walls, and with that thrust of her eyes she takes her spirit out of the sanctuary into the jeopardy of erotic experience: "Nach ihm nur schau' ich zum Fenster hinaus, nach ihm nur geh' ich aus dem Haus" ("Only to see him do I look out of the window, only to find him do I leave the house").

Schubert accompanies the flight from the protection of her room at this point by a departure from the home key to A minor; as she leaves her house for the dangerous and uncharted territory of eroticism, an abrupt tonal shift from A minor to F major takes place at bar 51. Now the left-hand part of the accompaniment becomes something new, replacing the constant rhythmic figure, unvaried for fifty bars, with dotted half-note chords, spinning wheel at least in part giving way to piano (Example 1.2). Text and music now progress together toward a climax, clearly placed in sensual, erotic terms by the text. The key can remain in the stability of the relative major key (F major) as she describes his manner of walking and demeanor, "Sein hoher Gang, sein' ed'le Gestalt" ("His fine gait, his noble form"), but as the description of him shifts to the parts of his body that arouse her, upward stepwise modulation quickly takes over. She moves from his smiling lips, the power of his eyes, and the magical tone of his voice to physical contact, first to the touch of his hand and then to his kiss. From F major the song moves through G minor and A flat to B flat major. The protectiveness of the spinning wheel has now been partially replaced by the more adventurous feminine piano, and partial replacement gives way to full piano at the point of climax and greatest danger, the response to his kiss at bars 66 through 68: "und ach, sein Kuss" ("and oh, his kiss"). For these three bars, as she reflects on his kiss, the left-hand dotted half-note chords take over, the spinning wheel now deferring completely to the piano with this interjection of recitative accompaniment. The erotic climax for Gretchen, made all the more personally urgent through chords that do not resolve, invokes dire consequences: not only does she lose peace, but she also faces expulsion from the sanctuary, where she will no longer spin. Even worse, destruction and death await her.

At this point the song has reached only its mid-point, and after the next "Meine Ruh ist hin" refrain, Schubert builds to a new climax. As the text makes clear, this climax indulges in even greater eroticism

49
aus dem Haus. Sein ho - - her Gang, sein ed' - le Ge -

54
stalt, sein-es Mun - - des Lächeln, sein-er Au - gen Ge - walt,

59
sei - - ner Re - de Zau - - ber-Fluss, sein Hän-de-druck,

65
und ach, sein Kuss!

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal and piano piece. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The lyrics are in German. Dynamic markings include *pp*, *crec.*, *fz*, *occol.*, and *pp*. A large red watermark 'DropBooks' is overlaid on the score.

Example 1.2.

than the previous one, as Gretchen yearns for Faust's touch and she fantasizes about their uninhibited physical union. Modulation propels this drive toward the climax, which happens on the word "vergehen" ("die"), firmly in D minor, heightening the link between *Küssen* and *vergehen*, or love and death. Goethe ends the text with "an seinen Küssen vergehen sollt" ("I should pass away from his kisses"); but

Schubert instead gives us a final statement of the opening refrain—now, of course, only the first half of it, omitting the C major portion. The D minor conclusion, while conscious of death, repeats the most stable part of the song and, in its final tranquility, offers pure lament, becoming Schubert's own through his audacity to change Goethe's text and his creation of a musical narrative that adds a level of meaning the poet could only find objectionable.

ERLKÖNIG

Having discovered Goethe as a possible source for song texts in October 1814, Schubert threw the floodgate open, reading voraciously and writing at an astounding rate. I have already noted his prolific output for the next year, which, among the various large instrumental and vocal works, includes about 150 songs—almost one every two days. Over the course of his life Schubert would set seventy-four texts by Goethe as songs, and almost half of these came in the year after “Gretchen.” He did not abandon his previous favorite poets such as Matthisson, Theodor Körner, and Schiller, and discovered new poets as well, especially Klopstock and Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty, and his friends Mayrhofer and Schober. The Goethe settings, though, stand out, and some of them, including “Schäfers Klagelied,” “Rastlose Liebe,” “Nähe des Geliebten,” “Meeres Stille,” “Wandrer's Nachtlid,” “Erster Verlust,” “Heidenröslein,” “Mignon,” and of course “Erlkönig,” join “Gretchen” as masterpieces. During the same year he set an opera to a text by Goethe, *Claudine von Villa Bella*, which, based on the surviving first act, could very well have been one of his finest operas. Unfortunately we will never know, since the second and third acts, given to his friend Josef Hüttenbrenner, went up in smoke in 1848, used by an unmusical servant in the miserably cold winter of that year to light fires.

Schubert liked nothing better than to set poems written by people he knew, certainly his friends such as Mayrhofer and Schober, and some other up-and-coming poets as well. But what if he could make contact with the greatest of all poets, the one who had made German literature respected throughout the world, whose stunning achievements not only in literature but also science prompted Friedrich

Nietzsche later in the century to think of him as his model for the notion of an *Übermensch*? By the time Schubert started to set his texts, Goethe, at the age of sixty-five, seemed utterly inaccessible to a teenager in Vienna, and it's not entirely clear whether Schubert or the closest of his old Seminary friends, Josef von Spaun, instigated the idea of writing to him. Regardless of the source of the idea, Schubert obviously agreed to it, and on 17 April 1816, Spaun sent his letter along with a bundle of Schubert's songs, believing that an acknowledgement from Goethe would vault the as-yet-unpublished Schubert's career to a new and brilliant level. Spaun chose his obsequious words carefully, wishing not to disturb the master with this interruption, identifying the unknown Schubert as a pupil of the world-famous Salieri who would soon "take his place in that rank among German composers which his pre-eminent talents assign him." Then he made his pitch:

These songs the artist now wishes to be allowed to dedicate most submissively to Your Excellency, to whose glorious poetry he is indebted not only for the origin of a great part of them, but also, in all essentials, for his development into a German songwriter. Himself too modest, however, to regard his works as worthy of the great honour of bearing a name so highly celebrated throughout the reach of the German tongue, he lacks the courage to request so great a favour of Your Excellency in person, and I, one of his friends, permeated as I am by his melodies, thus venture to ask it of Your Excellency in his name.³¹

Goethe's secretary sent the specimen book of songs back, with no reply and no evidence that Goethe had looked at them. The friends should not have been surprised: inundated by similar requests for dedications from hundreds of upstart songwriters, Goethe simply did not have the time to deal with them, preferring in any event to say nothing instead of making vacuous comments.

Aside from boundless admiration for the great poet, a dedication with his agreement could make all the difference in the world to the successful publication of the songs, and so Schubert tried again, this time writing the letter himself in June 1825:

Your Excellency.

If I should succeed in giving evidence of my unbounded veneration of Your Excellency by the dedication of these compositions of

your poems, and possibly in gaining some recognition of my insignificant self, I should regard the favourable fulfilment of this wish as the fairest event of my career.³²

Again no reply came, but this time at least an entry in Goethe's diary acknowledged that he had received the collection of songs. Eventually Goethe became aware of Schubert, and he made one of his few known comments about Schubert to the leading soprano Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient after she, accompanied by Frau Christine Genast, sang "Erlkönig" for him in Weimar on 24 April 1830. He kissed her on the forehead and remarked, "I have heard this composition once before, when it did not appeal to me at all; but sung in this way, the whole shapes itself into a visible picture."³³ The elderly poet did not like what Schubert did with his song, and even now the singer interested him more than the song.

If Goethe did not appreciate what Schubert had done with his famous ballad (and presumably by implication other texts), one would of course like to know the reason. Goethe had nothing against his poems being sung; in fact, he welcomed it. The directive in his "An Lina" reads, "Nur nicht lesen! Immer singen!" ("Not just reading! Always singing!").³⁴ If sung, though, the music should mostly provide a more effective means of declamation, finding as much as possible the rhythm of the verse, allowing the words to speak for themselves without the music adding levels of interpretation not envisaged by the poet. Music, then, should be strophic, should avoid modulation or other harmonic complexities, and melodies should be simple to the point of remaining folk-like. The northern German composers in Goethe's coterie such as Karl Friedrich Zelter and Johann Friedrich Reichardt had no objection to this, happily obliging with settings of little musical interest.

When Schubert read one of Goethe's glorious texts, the last thing on his mind was mere declamation. These poems set his mind racing at a fevered pitch, and quickly he transformed them in his own mind to something uniquely his own, giving them their new life through melody and accompaniment. In many cases that meant identification with the text or a character in the text, which could awaken a special response, not simply of an interpretive nature, but one that allowed him to throw himself into the composition with abandon, fully assimilating a dilemma or in the imaginative transformation identifying with

a character, as appeared to happen with “Gretchen.” Schubert has often been criticized for misunderstanding certain texts (“Erlkönig” more than any) and of missing Goethe’s subtleties and coming up with incorrect interpretations. In fact, when Schubert appropriates a text by Goethe, the poet no longer remains the focus of our interest. The success of the song has much less to do with Goethe than with how Schubert has been prompted to create something new. One can, of course, appreciate why Goethe and his supporters would find this objectionable and might protest. In fact, not only poets and critics found Schubert’s setting distasteful; so did some other composers, such as the Dresden composer Franz Schubert, who, mistaken for his Viennese namesake, received in April 1817 the rejected score of “Erlkönig” from the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf & Härtel. He could not believe that the publisher would make such an absurd error, and insisted on setting the record straight: “With the greatest astonishment I beg to state that this cantata was never composed by me. I shall retain the same in my possession in order to learn, if possible, who sent you that sort of trash in such an impolite manner and also to discover the fellow who has thus misused my name.”³⁵

Few texts have been set by as many composers as Goethe’s “Erlkönig,” and no song has been as much discussed as Schubert’s setting.³⁶ Of all of these settings, only Schubert’s remains in the repertoire, although the setting by Carl Loewe continues to attract interest, if for no other reason than that it is a relatively good setting that can be compared with Schubert’s. In all probability Loewe knew Schubert’s version, and Christopher Gibbs makes a good case for that.³⁷ Few writers on music have managed to make as consistently good judgments as Donald Francis Tovey, and he comes right to the heart of the matter with his comments on “Erlkönig” in considering how the child responds to the seductions of the Erlking and how the father responds to the child: “Loewe’s point of view is that of the father assuring the fever-stricken child that the Erl-king, with his daughter and his whisperings, is nothing but the marsh-mists and the wind in the trees; while Schubert, like the child, remains unconvinced by the explanation. His terror is the child’s; Loewe’s terror is the father’s.”³⁸ Tovey recognizes the cardinal point, that Schubert responds to the ballad in a personal way, making it his own by assuming the role of the child—identifying with the child in the musical setting. Tovey’s judgment slips a little,

though, when he speaks of the father's terror; one hears nothing in Loewe's music to suggest that such an interpretation could even be possible. If anything, Loewe's child reaches a state of panic after the Erlking's final enticement followed by a threat. He appeared to share Schubert's view about terror, but he wished only to convey that in the course of the narrative, without any kind of identification on his part.

Goethe charges many of his poems with sexual awareness that can reveal desire, aggression, repression, and a range of other possibilities that can be heterosexual or homosexual, arising from Goethe's own extraordinarily complex responses to experience, observation, fantasy, or mythology. Schubert could not have known what any of this meant to Goethe, but as a late adolescent devouring this poetry as quickly as he could and setting these poems at a rapid rate, he surely could relate the sexuality of these poems to his own awakening desires and repressions. In the case of "Gretchen," he responded strongly to her sexual desire and the conflict with morality or social convention. Curiously with "Heidenröslein," one of the most overtly sexual of Goethe's poems, Schubert opts for strophic neutrality, writing another masterpiece but with a cheekiness that allows the sexuality to simmer without bringing it to a boil.

All that would change dramatically in the fall of 1815 with the setting of "Erlkönig," a poem that Nicholas Boyle describes as "the most terrifyingly erotic" of Goethe's life;³⁹ the musical setting leaves no room to doubt that Schubert felt the full force of its sexual vicissitudes and made them his own. In this eight-stanza ballad introduced and concluded by a narrator, a father rides through the dark, windy night clutching his ailing boy in his arms. The narrator drops out of the central six stanzas as the father and child speak to each other and the Erlking entices the delirious child in stanzas three and five and the first half of seven. After each of the three enticements the child asks his father with urgency if he has heard the Erlking, and after the first and second occurrences the father reassures the child logically and rationally that the leaves and trees in the darkness of the night have prompted these illusions. The three attempted seductions of the boy appeal in distinctly different ways:

1. "You lovely boy, come go with me! I will play delightful games with you. Many brightly colored flowers are by the shore, my mother has many golden robes."

2. "My fine boy, will you go with me? My daughters will wait upon you. My daughters lead the nightly round dance, and they will sway you, dance, and sing for you!"
3. "I love you, your form arouses me, and if you do not come willingly, I will use force."

In Schubert's setting the relentlessly wrist-breaking triplets in the right hand⁴⁰ give way during the first two accompaniments of the Erlking to something much gentler, appropriate to the alluring melodies of the Erlking's coaxing. Not so the third: despite the declaration of love and appeal to beautiful form, the voice part lacks melodic shape and the piano continues the right-hand triplets. In each case Schubert's boy responds in terror, leaving some commentators confused about why terror should be the response to the sweet invocations. For some writers, in fact, Loewe got it right while Schubert did not, since Loewe's boy shows terror for the third beckoning only, after which the boy cries out, "The Erlking's hurting me!"

Loewe, it appears, opted for a sexless interpretation of the ballad, which, until very recently, writers on Schubert have also preferred, steering a course that had not occurred to writers on Goethe, and could not if one accounts for Goethe's other writings. The three enticements, mother, daughters, and the Erlking himself, strike three separate sexual nerves for Goethe, each one highly complex; while the sources of these would not have been known to Schubert, the composer most certainly could respond to the differences from the text itself, which can be read without any biographical significance or reference to other works by the poet. For Goethe the figure of the mother can relate to his own mother, with both good and bad associations, including possible preoedipal notions of a son/mother relationship. In the large body of his writing about mothers, he could couch his own experience in mythical terms, as occurs early in part two of *Faust*, in which Faust at Mephisto's urging must descend to the "Mothers," Helena and Paris, to bring them back to earth.⁴¹ Aside from his own childhood experiences, Goethe lived with Charlotte von Stein before writing the ballad, and knew well the kinds of sexual games that a mother and son can play; Goethe's own desire for Charlotte's son, Fritz, adds to the complexity, and in fact Goethe had his own memory of a ride at night to Tiefurt with Fritz sitting in the saddle in front of him.⁴²

The allure of the daughters may seem more straightforward, although not so for Goethe, whose relationship with his own sister complicated matters greatly. Goethe did not have sexual relations with any woman until the age of thirty-nine, and spent much more than his youth with a dread of his own sexual inadequacy.⁴³ The third time the Erlking speaks, Goethe may connect himself with Fritz or his own homoerotic thoughts in general, much written about in recent years.⁴⁴ The Erlking also represents a perverse father figure in comparison to the riding father who cradles his son, and the two fathers, one good and one bad, compete for the boy's life; the illusionary father outwits the real one and wins the child.

One does not need Goethe's letters, essays, or other major works to recognize the three types of sexual advances in the text of this ballad, and Schubert recognized them and responded intensely. Unlike Goethe, who wrote at length about his own sexual experiences and attitudes, we have little to go on in the case of Schubert at this time, aside from his affection for Theresa Grob, but even here the memoirs of his friends do not seem to square with reality. If his own experiences or musings put him in touch with Goethe's sexual trilogy, we can only speculate on what they may have been. His own musical setting provides the best evidence of his response, and here the terror of the child's response to each of the enticements suggests that, unlike Loewe, Schubert felt all three almost equally.

In violation of what Goethe would have desired, Schubert through-composes the song, and tonality proves to be the chief organizational device. Like the spinning wheel in *Gretchen*, this song illustrates the galloping horse with father and son in the mount, but the power of the song does not reside in this overt image. Schubert gives each of the speakers in the poem his own distinctive musical voice, and the first of these, the narrator, gives us the sense of urgency as he describes the father riding through the night with his feverish child in his arms, although with little deviation he holds the home key of G minor. The Erlking gives his first enticement in the relative major key of B flat, and from this point, tonality becomes a prominent structural feature. The transition to the child's response at bar 72 reveals an economical brilliance as the third of the B flat chord, the note D, now sounds as an open octave, continued in the right hand for the entire eight bars that the boy sings (Example 1.3). In the left hand an upbeat B natural

73 wand. Mein Va - ter, mein Va - ter, und hö - rest du nicht, was

77 Er - len - kö - nig mir lei - se ver - spricht? Sei ru - lig, blei - be

81 ru - hig, mein Kind, in dör - ren Blättern säu - velt der Wind. „Willst, fei - ner Kna - be, du

Example 1.3.

leads to the descending thirds C, A, and F sharp in bars 73 and 74 (and 75 and 76), giving us the outline of a dominant seventh chord with the right-hand D as root, suggesting things will resolve back to G minor. The voice part, though, forces a different hearing at bars 73 and 75; technically the persistent upper neighboring tone E flat could be rationalized as the completion of a dominant ninth chord, but Schubert makes certain we do not hear it that way. The E flat juts out violently against the D in the right hand, the semitone clash working regardless of a male or female voice singing because of the open octave in the right hand; this dissonance turns the boy's cry into a painful scream, pure terror in response to the mother and her sexual games.

The implied resolution to G minor fails to materialize as the forward chromatic motion starting at bar 77 leads elsewhere, in fact to

B minor at bar 81 as the father attempts to calm his son. The father cannot hold the key, making his words unconvincing as he possesses no key of his own, the G major he reaches serving as nothing more than the dominant of C major, the key of the Erlking's next foray starting at bar 86: musically, the good father loses the battle to the bad father (see Example 1.3). By now a tonal trend has revealed itself, a pattern of rising semitones from B flat in which the boy remains tonally suspended, his father lacks tonal stability, and the Erlking gets the well-defined keys. The pattern continues as it had for the Erlking's second enticement, taking us through the boy's suspended state to the father's attempt at assurance in C sharp, which continues the upward semitone motion, landing on D minor. Because of this semitone motion, the boy's second response arrives a whole step higher than his first, giving it an audible edge as the F/E clash moves into the singer's upper register.

On reaching the key of D minor at bar 112, a familiar key for stormy points in earlier songs, Schubert returns to the opening accompaniment figure originally heard in G minor, setting things up for the third and most disturbing entry of the Erlking. Considering the upward chromatic motion, we would not be surprised to go to E flat, but the way of getting there comes as a jolt; after the upbeat in the vocal line Schubert simply cranks the key up a semitone from D, completely without preparation at bar 117 (Example 1.4). The vocal line now lacks the prior sweetness of the Erlking, and the accompaniment lacks broken-chord figuration as it stays with the repeated triplets. An extreme dynamic change occurs, from the *pianissimo* whisper of "beautiful shape" to the triple *forte* of "force" at bar 123, back in D minor, indicating that the E flat intruded as a tonally destabilizing Neapolitan (the lowered second degree of the scale). The child's terror now reaches a fevered peak as he shrieks in the upper register on a G flat against the right-hand F at the same dynamic level at which the Erlking had ended (bars 124 through 126). The father has no reply to this; he has lost the battle completely. The narrator gives us the chilling finale in G minor with chromatic passages, another Neapolitan, and finally recitative, showing how menacingly high the stakes were, as he announces the boy's death. In fact, the awkward tritone at the end of the recitative from "Kind" ("child") on G down to "war" ("was") on C sharp, separated by a rest with *fermata*, proclaims death through

116 „Ich lie - be dich, mich reizt dei - ne schö - ne Ge - stalt, und bist du nicht

121 wil - lig, so brauch ich Ge - walt.* Mein Va - ter, mein Va - ter, jetzt fällt er mich

127 an! Erl - kö - nig hat mir ein Leids ge - tan!

Example 1.4.

the *diabolus in musicum*, making the infernal Erlking's victory all the more fiendishly stinging.

In all probability Schubert was attracted to both women and men, but of course we know few details about this. Considering that his experience at school placed him in a circle of male friends who bonded in a congenial and supportive way, one can speculate, as Maynard Solomon has,⁴⁵ on intimate possibilities that may have extended beyond male friendship. We will never know what Schubert felt for Theresa Grob, but his failure to pursue this relationship may have had as much to do with his uncertainty or even fear of a sexual relationship with a woman at this point in his life than the restrictive marriage laws of Vienna. All of these sexual anxieties appear to come together in “Erlkönig,” and the boy’s terror is surely Schubert’s own

terror—specifically of a sexual nature—whether fantasy or real, involving thoughts of his own family, his dealings with women, and his affection for men. Whatever his experiences or desires may have been, they did not seem to him to resemble those of people around him, and as an adolescent he undoubtedly viewed this with fright. In “Erlkönig” his own distinctive voice, the boy’s, ever rising to a dissonant shriek against unstable harmony and tonality, emerged in the clearest possible way. In discovering how to express his own uncertainties, anxieties, and outright terror, in laments or in cries from the depths of despair, he unlocked in song what no one before him had found, giving his songs an intimacy that singers and listeners can experience as vividly as Schubert does himself.

NOTES

1. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 353–54.
2. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 7–10, 22.
3. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 7.
4. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 6.
5. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 10.
6. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 25.
7. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 26.
8. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert’s Letters and Other Writings*, trans. Venetia Savile (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 23–24.
9. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 68.
10. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 130.
11. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 125.
12. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 127.
13. All translations of song texts are mine. I am, of course, aware of other fine translations, for example those by John Reed in *The Schubert Song Companion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), Richard Wigmore in *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts* (New York: Schirmer, 1988), and S. S. Prawer in *The Penguin Book of Lieder* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964). This and some other sections of this chapter are a revised version of my article “Feminine

Voices in Schubert's Early Laments," *The Music Review* 55 (1994): 183–201.

14. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 60.

15. Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1983), 243–44.

16. David Gramit, "The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1987), 32.

17. For a fuller discussion of the circle, see David Gramit, "'The Passion for Friendship': Music, Cultivation and Identity in Schubert's Circle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56–71.

18. Michael G. Cooke, "The Feminine as the Crux of Value," in *Acts of Inclusion: Studies Bearing on an Elementary Theory of Romanticism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 121–83.

19. Cooke, "The Feminine," 143.

20. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 861.

21. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 208.

22. Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, vol. 1, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869), 35.

23. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 182.

24. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 78.

25. Hans Eichner, "The Eternal Feminine: An Aspect of Goethe's Ethics," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 4th ser., 9 (1971), 235–44.

26. Jonathan Miller, ed., *Don Giovanni: Myths of Seduction and Betrayal* (New York: Schocken Books, 1990), xii.

27. Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "Tale Spinners: Submerged Voices in Grimm's Fairy Tales," *New German Critique* 27 (1982): 147.

28. Bottigheimer, "Tale Spinners," 144, and Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Grimm's Bad Girls and Bold Boys: The Moral and Social Vision of the Tales* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), 114.

29. Hans Medick, "Village Spinning Bees: Sexual Culture and Free Time among Rural Youth in Early Modern Germany," in *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, eds. Hans Medick and David W. Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 324.

30. See Theodore Ziolkowski's reference to "the pure and timeless" aspect of the sanctuary in "The Imperiled Sanctuary," in *Studies in the German Drama: Festschrift in Honor of Walter Silz*, eds. Donald H. Crosby and George C. Schoolfield (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974), 81.

31. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 57.

-
32. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 420.
 33. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 906.
 34. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *An Lina*, in *Anthology of Goethe's Songs*, ed. Richard D. Green (Middleton, Wisc.: A-R Editions, 1995), x.
 35. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 76.
 36. Christopher H. Gibbs, "Komm, geh' mit mir: Schubert's Uncanny Erlkönig," *19th-Century Music* 19 (1995): 115–33.
 37. Gibbs, "Komm, geh' mit mir," 125.
 38. Donald Francis Tovey, *The Main Stream of Music and Other Essays* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), 109.
 39. Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe: The Poet and the Age*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 339.
 40. The third version of the song, the one actually sent to Goethe, uses a duple pattern instead of the triplets.
 41. Edward F. Edinger, *Goethe's Faust* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1990), 54–55.
 42. Boyle, *Goethe*, 339–40.
 43. K. R. Eissler, *Goethe: A Psychoanalytic Study, 1775–1786* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), 272.
 44. For example, see Alice A. Kuzniar, ed., *Outing Goethe and His Age* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996).
 45. Maynard Solomon, "Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini," *19th-Century Music* 12 (1989): 193–206.

Chapter Two

The Performer

FAMILY PLANNING USUALLY REFERS TO attempts to limit family size or to control the population explosion, but can also have other goals. Those other goals are sometimes unexpected, and one of these has peculiar musical consequences, having nothing to do with rhythm. For some parents in past eras in some parts of the world, the primary consideration when deciding the number of children to have may have been to create a family string quartet, or, perhaps more modestly, a piano trio. In the nineteenth century or earlier procreating a string quartet would have meant having a minimum of three children, since women for the most part did not play string instruments. If the father already played the cello, for example, he would need three sons for the two violins and viola, but of course the odds of having three sons in a row are fairly low. The birth of a daughter could add a piano to the ensemble, the piano being a woman's instrument until well into the nineteenth century, and that would allow the family to perform piano trios (in fact, very little has been written for string quartet and piano). Prior to the twentieth century, procreation for the purpose of forming a string quartet would yield a fairly large family by our standards, typically at least five or six children, but of course at the time families of that size or larger were not uncommon. In the twentieth century the problem was solved by allowing women to play all instruments, which earlier decorum would simply not have tolerated; this especially prevented women from playing the cello, which cannot be played side-saddle. Beginning in the twentieth century, population control could be

practiced, since one needed only two children to round out a quartet. Also, by the twentieth century doublers became fairly standard, with one family member, male or female, playing piano as well as a string instrument. For anything larger—quintets, septets, or octets—the extended family or friends would have to be summoned. Of course many other types of chamber music exist, involving double bass or woodwinds, but over the years the string quartet has provided the standard in musical family planning, in large measure because of the extraordinary repertoire for this combination, which no family will exhaust before the children leave home.

Family planning is only one of many ways that amateur musicians come into this world; in fact, the number of amateurs is enormous, although clearly not all chamber ensembles are family affairs. Schubert himself was born into a string quartet family, and, given the rates of infant mortality in the late eighteenth century, his parents' experience illustrates just how difficult it could be to come up with a family quartet. Schubert's mother, Elisabeth Vietz, who married Franz Theodor Florian Schubert in 1785 at the age of twenty-eight, spent most of her adult life in pregnancy. She bore fourteen children, of whom nine died in infancy or childhood. Of the survivors, the first four were boys: Ignaz Franz (1785), Ferdinand Lukas (1794), Franz Karl (1795), and Franz Peter (31 January 1797); Schubert finally got a sister, Maria Theresia, in 1801. Since Franz Karl had no special aptitude for music, quartet playing had to wait for Franz Peter, who started taking violin lessons from his father at the age of eight. Not only a quick learner but able to play the viola as well, Franz Peter allowed quartet playing in the Schubert household to become a possibility by about 1806, and it continued during the holiday months throughout Schubert's seminary years. In this family quartet, father played cello, Ferdinand first violin, Ignaz second, and young Franz the viola; by his own admission Ferdinand counted "those days among the happiest of his life when, still living in his parent's home, he used to practise quartet playing almost daily," with special love for the quartets of Haydn and Mozart.¹ In describing the dynamics of this quartet, Ferdinand noted that:

the youngest of them all was the most sensitive there. Whenever a mistake was made, were it ever so small, he would look the guilty one in the face, either seriously or sometimes with a smile; if Papa, who played the 'cello, was in the wrong, he would say nothing at

first, but if the mistake was repeated, he would say quite shyly and smilingly: “Sir, there must be a mistake somewhere!”, and our good father would gladly be taught by him.²

Franz became the family doubler (or tripler), learning to play the piano and proving himself adept enough at singing to pass the audition for the Imperial Court Choir. The Schubert family quartet provided the glue for the male members of this family, and turned out to be part of a fairly common trend, both during Schubert’s time and throughout the two centuries since.

SINGER

Composers before Schubert understood something of the relationship between amateur players and composers; perhaps Haydn, who was not an outstanding performer on any one instrument, understood best of all. Not only did Haydn write his string quartets for the enjoyment of connoisseurs, but he enjoyed playing his quartets as a violinist as well. No composer grasped the principle as Schubert did, though, since he successfully wrote himself in as one of the performers in almost all of his works: as a singer, pianist, violinist, and violist, that did not prove difficult. Schubert gained admittance to the Seminary because of his skill as a singer, and in singing he excelled, possessing a clear, firm voice and a superior ability to read at sight. Fortunately, the rigors of being a chorister did not kill his love of singing, and after this auspicious beginning, he had no intention of stopping because his voice had changed. He kept singing, not as a chorister, but as a singer of his own songs, and some who heard him claimed no one could sing these songs as Schubert himself did. As a thirteen-year-old girl, Maria Wagner first heard Schubert’s “Erlkönig” at the premises “Zum roten Apfel,” appropriately in the Singerstrasse, where soirées of the “Little Society” (Kleiner Verein) of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Society of Friends of Music) took place, and it stirred her so much she thought she would faint. From that point on she followed Schubert’s career with passion, and sized up the singers of Schubert lieder in her *Memoirs* of 1877: “I have heard all the famous Schubert singers: Vogl (who never appealed to me), Schönstein, Rizy, Stockhausen, [Frau] Filek, who sang some things, ‘Letzte Hoffnung’ from ‘Die Winterreise’

for instance, in a way that could break your heart; but no one sang as Schubert did, and that without a voice.”³

“Without a voice” may be an exaggeration, meaning that he could not compete vocally with professionals; after it broke, Schubert possessed a weak tenor voice, according to his old school friend, Albert Stadler. Not everyone agreed on the range of his changed voice, as Anselm Hüttenbrenner described it as a mixture of tenor and baritone, weak but pleasant, with an extensive falsetto that he could use in the absence of female singers to sing soprano parts when reading scores with friends. Anselm’s brother Josef emphasized the highness of Schubert’s voice, wishing to correct the view in some printed sources that he had a low voice. Eduard von Bauernfeld also put it “half-way between a gentle tenor and a baritone, his manner of performance simple and natural, sensitive, without any affectation.”⁴ It took little persuasion to get Schubert to sing, especially among his close circle of friends, and Leopold von Sonnleithner noted that he “very often heard him sing his own songs.”⁵ He would, of course, accompany himself on the piano on these occasions, as he did during an especially stirring performance described by Josef von Spaun: “One day he said to me ‘Come to Schober’s to-day, I will sing you a cycle of awe-inspiring songs. I am anxious to know what you will say about them. They have affected me more than has been the case with any other songs.’ So, in a voice wrought with emotion, he sang the whole of the ‘Winterreise’ through to us.”⁶

Schubert wrote a few of his songs for low voice, setting them in bass clef, but by far the majority lie in a relatively high range, and it takes little leap of the imagination to reach the conclusion that this was his own range—that in fact he wrote them for himself. In some cases that presented problems for publication, since to reach the largest possible market one needed to aim for medium voices. Even *Winterreise*, with its dark and gloomy tone, he wrote for a high voice. Of course Schubert wrote songs with the assumption that Vogl, a baritone, and others would sing them, but he almost never wrote for their voices. Vogl wrote out numerous songs himself, often including ornaments that he added, and all of these transpose the songs about a third lower than Schubert wrote them.⁷ When Schubert performed with Vogl, he would simply transpose at sight to the lower key required for the singer. In the autograph scores they stand in the keys Schubert

himself could sing most comfortably, making these his songs in every possible respect.

In developing his singing voice while at the same time cultivating his compositional and instrumental skills, he recognized one of the most fundamental musical principles, that singing provides the foundation for all other musical activities. This, of course, was not an original idea, but with waves of symphonists and keyboard artists in the late eighteenth century, the preeminence of the principle often got squeezed out of composers' consciousness, as Haydn regretted about many of his contemporaries. Haydn's biographer, Georg August Griesinger, reported in 1810 that Haydn "took exception to the fact that so many musicians now composed who had never learned to sing: 'Singing must almost be counted among the lost arts, and instead of song they let instruments dominate.'"⁸ Even C. P. E. Bach, known primarily for his instrumental works, held a similar view, writing in his own *Autobiography* that "my principal aim, especially of late, has been directed toward playing and composing as vocally as possible."⁹

Schubert's recognition of this principle far predated his knowledge of the view of his great precursors, if in fact he ever knew their views. Not only did he intuit this principle while at the Seminary and perhaps even earlier, but he also took it to a level that none of his predecessors or contemporaries had imagined. In a poem he wrote in 1813, saved by Holzapfel for posterity, he tried to get at this notion, as in these lines from the second stanza:

But a breath!—for such is Time.
 Let this breath sing worthy measures.
 To the throne of justice go thou forth,
 Voicing songs of virtue's heav'nly treasures!¹⁰

Breath is the most fundamental of life-sustaining activities, and to put it to use to the highest possible purpose, it sings, finding a voice with heightened aspirations. The two elements, the voice and the song, in many respects cannot be separated, but for the sake of expediency, they will be. The primacy of song to all of Schubert's compositional activity, and, for that matter, his existence, is discussed in chapter 5.

EXPRESSION MARKS

Composers use expression marks of various kinds in their musical scores to tell performers of important matters to be observed in performance, and for Schubert's generation this far exceeded what earlier composers had done.¹¹ These include the headings at the beginning of movements or songs, typically in Italian, that designate the tempo to be followed, and often suggest something of the expressive character as well. These Italian words that performers know so well, from the slow *largo* and *adagio* through *moderato* and *andante* to the fast *allegro* or *presto*, have become part of the common currency, so well known that now even car manufacturers use them. Terms exist not only for tempo and an implied atmosphere that the tempo indicator suggests, but for other factors as well, including dynamics, such as *piano* and *forte*; along with the indications of dynamic change, *crescendo* and *decrescendo*; or words that tell us something much more definite about the atmosphere to be generated, such as *dolce*, *mesto*, *doloroso*, and a host of others. Composers sometimes provide this information in the vernacular language instead of Italian, perhaps at times not certain about the musical sophistication of those who will purchase and perform the music. Schubert gives these indicators in German. Beethoven takes this a step further in his late string quartets, here not so much concerned with the ability of quartet players to grasp the Italian as with the difficulty of saying what he wishes to say in a language other than his own. In the slow movement of the String Quartet Op. 132 he takes this to the extreme, with this directive at the head of the movement: "*Heiliger Dankgesang eines Genesenen an die Gottheit, in der lydischen Tonart*" ("Holy song of thanksgiving of one recovered from an illness, in the lydian mode").

Aside from words, composers use nonverbal indicators such as slurs, dots, and dashes. They also use signs that look like hairpins: the first sign starts at a point and opens (\langle), and I refer to this symbol as an "opening hairpin." The second starts open and closes to a point (\rangle); I refer to this as a "closing hairpin." In both cases, the signs cover a group of notes or chords, anything from two notes or chords to a number of bars. Along with these signs, composers also frequently use a short wedge sign (\triangleright) for individual notes or chords. For very close to a century, music teachers have instructed their pupils that

these signs refer to dynamics, the opening hairpin to a *crescendo*, the closing hairpin to a *decrescendo*, and the wedge a dynamic accent, despite comments from some of the greatest performers that they mean something else. Like most other musicians, I also grew up with the instruction that these signs represented dynamic change, and I held to this until 1981 when I attended a workshop given by the duo pianists David Kraehenbuehl and Richard Chronister, who, in an entirely unapologetic manner, argued they could not possibly represent dynamics. I doubted them, but put their argument to the test, and of course they were right. Why, one might ask, would a composer use words, often in abbreviation (*cresc.* and *decresc.*), as well as signs to indicate the same thing, especially when these two often occur within the same bar or passage of music?

One may find the opening hairpin sign and the word “*cresc.*” in the same bar, and this will not provoke difficulties other than curiosity as to why the composer would feel the need to say the same thing twice. Other passages are more troublesome, and surely confirm that the sign means something other than the word, as happens at the end of Schubert’s Impromptu in A flat (D935, no. 2). Here Schubert writes in the word *cresc.*, and this supports the fact that the dynamic level for the previous eighteen bars has been *pianissimo* (*pp*), and then moves to *piano* (*p*). Immediately after the *cresc.*, and just before the *p*, he provides the closing hairpin sign. Performers’ eyes may glaze over at this point, since the sign seems to suggest the exact opposite of what the word indicates, or they may simply shrug it off as a mistake made by the composer in the haste of writing down the score; mistakes in scores surely do happen. Before jumping to that conclusion, though, it should be noticed that Schubert uses the same sign two bars earlier in an almost identical passage; one can also go through the scores of virtually any nineteenth-century composer and find this juxtaposition of word and sign used over and over, in some cases with the word written inside the sign itself. The way Schubert used these signs remained standard throughout the nineteenth century.

If these signs do not indicate dynamic change, then what do they mean? His songs, more than any of his other works, give clues to the answer. If singing can be regarded as the most fundamental type of musical activity, then it follows that singers will instinctively do cer-

tain things that instrumentalists will not. To see the principle in question in operation, we can look at his song cycle *Winterreise* (*Winter Journey*), the late cycle that Spaun reported Schubert liked more than all his other works. If we compare the use of hairpins and wedges in the voice part and piano part in this cycle of twenty-four songs, we discover a huge disparity in their use, with a mere twenty signs occurring in the voice parts of all these songs, whereas in the piano part about twice that number occur in each of the twenty-four songs. This massive difference—almost fifty times as many in the piano part—forces one to acknowledge that pianists apparently need to be told certain things over and over, while singers need only be reminded very occasionally, since they will instinctively know what to do. The signs themselves appear to denote vocal gestures, and therefore do not need to be placed in vocal lines except at special points that require some additional reinforcement of the gesture, possibly prompted by the nature of the gesture in the piano part and by how voice and piano interact at that specific moment.

In sorting out what these signs meant, it proves useful to hear what observers of Schubert's own performances or his collaborations with Vogl had to say, and one of the most interesting comes from Leopold von Sonnleithner, himself a musician. Schubert met Sonnleithner in 1816 when the composer conducted a public performance of his cantata *Prometheus*, and Sonnleithner, a law student exactly Schubert's age, sang in the chorus. The two became close friends, and, as their friendship grew, Sonnleithner did all he could to help promote Schubert's career. Long after Schubert's death Sonnleithner wrote a comprehensive memoir of the musical life of old Vienna, as well as articles on the history of music, and in this writing he included a discussion on the performance of Schubert's songs. As a member of the small Schubert circle, he often heard the composer sing his own songs, "with his weak, though sympathetic, voice and with frequent use of *false* *falsetto* when the range was beyond him."¹² He also heard Schubert in rehearsal with his various singers, as Schubert accompanied them at the piano. In 1860, when he wrote this account, he could not help but be irked by the way performers presented the songs, contrary to Schubert's manner. On the specifics of performance, Sonnleithner

had the background and experience to make sound judgments, so the following description can undoubtedly be taken as accurate:

Schubert, therefore, demanded above all that his songs should not so much be declaimed as *sung* flowingly, that the proper vocal *timbre* should be given to every note, to the complete exclusion of the unmusical speaking voice, and that by this means the *musical* idea should be displayed in its purity. A necessary corollary to this is the *strict observation of the tempo*. Schubert always indicated exactly where he wanted or permitted a *ritardando*, an *accelerando* or any kind of freer delivery. But where he did not indicate this, he would not tolerate the slightest arbitrariness or the least deviation in tempo.¹³

By all accounts Vogl held to these principles, and Sonnleithner objected especially to the maudlin mannerisms of the next generation of singers, who trivialized the music with their “paroxysms of sentimental hesitation.”¹⁴ This should not be taken to mean that Schubert preferred something mechanical, lacking in feeling. Sonnleithner could not stand singers who gave themselves airs and affectations, who thought they were more “poetic and inventive” than the composer, “who has clearly indicated, by means of notes and signs, just exactly what he wants and how he wishes it to be sung.”¹⁵

With his reference to “signs,” Sonnleithner no doubt has hairpins and wedges in mind, but since he describes nothing, he seems to make an assumption that everyone will know what they mean. His discussion arises in the context of tempo, but one can make a fair guess these signs have no more to do with tempo than dynamics; going back to the Impromptu in A flat, directly above the closing hairpin sign, which appears immediately after the word *crescendo* at the end of the piece, Schubert has written *ritard.*, and he would be no more redundant about tempo indicators than he would be about dynamics. Because of the discrepancy between the use of the signs in voice and piano parts, it will be useful to find a comparable phrase in voice and piano, and see how Schubert marks it with signs. A good example occurs in “Der greise Kopf” (“The Grey Head”), the fourteenth song from *Winterreise*, in which the opening four bars of introduction in the piano divide the right-hand melody with its clear vocal character from the left-hand accompaniment, a phrase that starts on middle C

and rises an octave and a sixth to a climax on A flat, before rounding out the arch and returning to the opening C (Example 2.1). Schubert immediately confirms the vocal character of the melody as the voice part opens with an almost exact imitation of the phrase, the only real difference (aside from a slight rhythmic adjustment) being that the climax in the voice part occurs on F instead of A flat, although still with the high note approached by a leap of a fifth. The left-hand accompaniment underlying this imitated phrase stands identical to that of the opening four bars for piano. The primary difference, in fact, lies in the treatment of signs: in the piano part Schubert connects the notes of the rising fifth with a slur, and also slurs the descending triplets; most importantly, he provides both opening and closing hairpin signs in a symmetrical fashion at the point of climax, encompassing the rising fifth and the start of the descent.

Aside from the two slurred notes, five other slurs occur in the piano part; Schubert uses no slurs at all in the vocal imitation, and similarly no hairpins. One may wish to surmise that having put the slurs

Etwas langsam

The musical score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The tempo is marked 'Etwas langsam'. The vocal line (soprano) begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A-flat4, and a quarter note G4. The piano accompaniment (piano) begins with a half note G2, a quarter note A-flat2, and a quarter note G2. The piano part features a rising fifth (G2-A-flat2-B-flat2) and descending triplets (B-flat2-A-flat2-G2). The vocal line includes lyrics in German: 'Der Reif' hatt' ei - nen wei - Ben Schein mir ü - bers Haar ge - streu - et.

Example 2.1.

and hairpins in the piano part, he did not need to put them in again in the voice part, but that is highly unlikely, since he cannot be certain the singer has read the piano line closely, or could even remember all of these signs, especially the seven slurs, even if the singer had read the introduction. What appears to be happening here is that Schubert had full confidence that singers would know exactly what to do with this line, but he had no such confidence in pianists. In fact, it is not even a matter of singers knowing what to do, but instead involves a recognition of what a singing voice instinctively does, by the nature of singing itself, in which the “flow” that Sonnleithner refers to happens automatically because of the flow of air. For singers not to sing in a flowing manner, they must physically stop the air, whereas for the pianist, the mechanical nature of the instrument and the physical nature of playing determine that flowing does not necessarily happen instinctively. With the slurs Schubert simply tells his pianists to do what the singer does inherently.

That may account easily for the slurs, but not the hairpins, which appear to be getting at something much more sophisticated, going beyond what can be indicated by a slur. It seems the hairpins have vocal implications pertaining to a distinctive vocal gesture that occurs as the singer sings a leap, especially if that leap propels the voice into its upper register or moves through a rising passage into the upper register. Something distinctive happens to a trained voice when it moves into the upper register, in fact a change in tone color—a slight darkening related to the muscular equipoise that the singer applies. If the arrival in the upper register occurs by way of a leap, the singer produces a characteristic rising gesture involving a slight delay in approaching the upper note. As an experienced singer, Schubert knew these gestures well, but as a pianist he also knew that such gestures were not an implicit part of keyboard technique. When singing and accompanying himself, he could coordinate the gestures in the piano with those of the voice part, finding a sense of unified purpose. If he accompanied someone like Michael Vogl, the same could be achieved, and he took pride in this feat, noting how “we were one at such a moment,”¹⁶ offering something entirely unique to their audience.

In providing these signs, Schubert asks pianists to perform the passage as a singer would, not simply to play one note after the other and certainly not to add a dynamic accent, but to use the gesture of

restraint that a singer would use in reaching a note in the upper register. Untrained singers often think the only way to reach a high note involves using as much force as possible to blast the voice up into stratospheric regions. The trained singer knows that less air must be used, through a highly controlled stream of air adjusted by the pressure exerted by stomach muscles below the diaphragm. A comparison can be made with organ pipes: large bass reeds require large amounts of air to fill them, but the same amount of air in a tiny treble reed will probably blow the poor little pipe to bits. If one tries to put too much air into the tiny reed, or use too much air to sing high notes, a defused, unfocused sound results. The classic illustration involves a great tenor, who can sing a high A and hold a candle to his lips without making the flame so much as flicker.

If singers do these things instinctively, then one may very well wonder why Schubert would put any of these expressive signs in his vocal lines, as he does occasionally in *Winterreise*. Now the tables appear to be turned, as Schubert reminds the singer to pay attention to the piano part, especially if the piano part draws the singer into doing something that should be avoided. The sixth song of *Winterreise*, “Wasserflut” (“Flood”), provides an excellent example of why this type of reminder may be necessary, this time at bar 12 (Example 2.2). It is difficult to find editions that completely agree on which signs to use at this bar, or editions that agree with Schubert’s autograph manuscript as well as with the “corrected” copy of part one, prepared by the publisher Haslinger.¹⁷ In the first published edition Haslinger leaves out

The image shows a musical score for a vocal and piano piece. The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the piano accompaniment is in the lower staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "Dur - stig ein das hei - ße Weh!". The piano accompaniment starts with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a key signature of one sharp. The piano part features a series of chords in the right hand and a more active line in the left hand. There are dynamic markings: *fp* (fortissimo piano) and *ff* (fortissimo). There are also expressive markings: a hairpin crescendo and a hairpin decrescendo. The score is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign at the end of the first system.

Example 2.2.

the expression marks in the voice part altogether. Walther Dürr, editor of *Winterreise* for the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* (the most recent collected edition of Schubert's works), normally holds the view that the Haslinger edition should be taken as the authentic source on which the new edition should be based,¹⁸ but he departs from Haslinger in this case, putting the expression marks in the voice part.

Not unlike the case of "Der greise Kopf," the passage in question here also has a line starting in the lower register that moves to the upper, rising an octave and a half from the B just below middle C to an F, and then in an arch-like manner descends in bar 13 (see Example 2.2). The climax of this arch occurs in bar 12, the high point in the vocal line, on the word "Weh" ("anguish"), a word that certainly requires special attention. Schubert lavishes that attention as much in the piano part as the voice, with harmonic treatment in the piano that adds a crucial element to the high point in the vocal line. "Weh" itself requires this, not only because of its meaning, but also because of the declamatory gesture of the word, which cannot be said as a short syllable, but necessarily requires vocal expansion for the word to be stated properly and its meaning to be felt. Prior to this point, the harmony of the song has been entirely stable, with nothing but tonic and dominant chords, but now Schubert moves much further afield, with the chord in bar 12 beginning as a secondary dominant of the submediant (the third scale degree), changing on the second beat to a secondary diminished seventh. Both the voice and the piano have an E at the beginning of "Weh," but, while the piano moves upward to F after one beat, Schubert delays this in the vocal line as it moves to F after holding the E for a beat and a half. The climax then does not occur on the high note, the F, but happens in the half beat before that, with piano on F and voice still on E, creating a semitone clash, a dissonance that gives the word "Weh" its anguished substance. In fact, for the singer, execution of this dissonance presents a challenge, since the singer's tendency here is to follow the piano line, moving to the F and avoiding the clash. With his placement of the symmetrical hairpins in the voice part in bar 12, Schubert alerts the singer to the dissonance created with the piano, telling the singer not to follow the piano immediately to F, but to hold the clash slightly longer than the half beat, giving maximum gestural quality to the word "Weh." Similar issues occur in "Rückblick" and "Einsamkeit," and the heightened vo-

cal awareness that these signs invoke in voice parts allows them to be taken as guides to an understanding of their use in general.¹⁹

A fascinating problem occurs in the twelfth song of *Winterreise*, “Einsamkeit” (“Loneliness”) at bars 32 and 33 (Example 2.3), and again at bars 44 and 45, to the text “war ich so elend, so elend nicht” (“was I not so wretched”). No wedge signs appear in the voice part here, but they do in the piano part, and in this case we have a problem as to which source we should believe. In his original autograph Schubert places the wedge midway through the bar in each of these four bars (and the bar preceding this phrase as well), coinciding with the opening syllable of “elend.” In the Haslinger engraver’s copy, numerous alterations are made to the song, including a key change, from D minor to B minor, occasional note changes, the addition of some hairpins not in the autograph, and most curiously, the new placement of the wedges just noted. Instead of placing them at the beginning of “elend,” they have been moved to coincide with “ich” at the beginning of bar 32 and the rest in the voice part later. In his published version Haslinger followed, as one would expect, the engraver’s copy, and virtually all editions of the work have done the same since. On the surface this appears to be the correct choice, since Schubert himself had a chance to make his own additions and corrections to the engraver’s copy; it appears that the copyist missed the wedge in bar 32 and Schubert himself filled it in on the first beat of the bar, conforming with the placement in all the other bars.

Since this wedge in Schubert’s hand can be seen in the engraver’s copy, we should have little reason to object, except that musically and

Example 2.3.

textually it makes no sense at all to place the wedge on the first beat. “Elend” (“wretched”) clearly emerges as the key word in this phrase, not “ich” (“I”), and in order for the pianist to support the right gesture in the vocal line, a slight elongation of the “e” of “elend” is required; not only does that extension underpin the correct pronunciation of the word, but it also emphasizes the key word. It appears that Schubert got it right in his autograph, that the copyist changed it when making all the other changes to the song, and that Schubert probably just glossed over it when doing his own editing, mechanically filling in the blank bar. Only one edition has challenged the musical absurdity of the placement of these wedges, that being the Henry Litolff/Peters edition of 1975, edited by Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau and Elmar Budde; they return the wedges to the places they occur in the autograph, as shown in Example 2.3. It should not escape our notice that the only edition that makes musical sense at this point is the one that includes the involvement of a great Schubert singer.

Taking our cue from the treatment of the short wedge and the longer hairpin signs in the voice part, we can conclude that these signs have similar implications in the piano part, and that Schubert uses them to ask the pianist to parallel the vocal gestures they accompany. In many instances the signs in the piano part occur at points where they naturally follow the shape of the vocal phrase. At other points the gestures do not coincide, providing a certain amount of tension between voice and piano. Often, of course, Schubert writes expression marks in the piano part while the instrument plays alone, and here he asks the pianist to “sing” the part.

This treatment of these signs has of course been recognized by others, including Gerald Moore, the most famous Schubert accompanist of the twentieth century. In the preface to his *The Schubert Song Cycles*, Moore notes that Schubert often wrote *fp* or *sf* and the wedge sign over the same chord, and he questions the apparent redundancy of signs. He concludes that the wedge means something else, calling for “a slight prolongation on the chord, ever so slight so as not to distort the shape of the passage: it is performed with such sensitivity that the operation becomes hardly perceptible. I call it a time stress.”²⁰ Similarly, the pianist Eric Heidsieck has observed that Alfred Cortot and Artur Schnabel treated the hairpins as a broadening gesture, and in so doing they continued a nineteenth-century tradition.²¹

PIANIST

The singer in Schubert propelled his musical life, but by no means did he spend most of his time as a performer singing. That distinction went to the piano, an instrument he could play in complete privacy or perform in public as a soloist, playing duos with another pianist or chamber works. Schubert played the piano well, but not brilliantly; his brother Ferdinand may not have been the most objective observer of his playing, but even he had to admit Schubert did not try to pass himself off as a piano virtuoso. Still, Ferdinand believed he played the instrument with mastery and in an unusual manner, prompting at least one connoisseur to proclaim that “I almost admire your playing even more than your compositions!”²² One can only hope that the admirer intended this as a compliment to Schubert’s playing and not an insult to his compositions. Works such as his last sonatas or the “Wanderer” Fantasy exceeded his own technical skills, as his friends such as Kuppelwieser, Josef von Spaun, and Josef von Gahy knew well. On one occasion, while playing the “Wanderer” Fantasy for these friends, he broke down completely in the final section, leapt up from the piano seat and exclaimed, “Let the devil play the stuff!”²³

Despite the technical limitations, he could do extraordinary things at the piano, moving himself and his listeners, ever conscious of styles of playing. Stadler gives us a clear impression of how Schubert played, and backs this up with an understanding of style and technique: “To see and hear him play his own pianoforte compositions was a real pleasure. A beautiful touch, a quiet hand, clear, neat playing, full of insight and feeling. He still belonged to the old school of good pianoforte players, whose fingers had not yet begun to attack the poor keys like birds of prey.”²⁴ This squares with Schubert’s impression of his own playing, of which he wrote to his father and stepmother from Steyr in 1825, describing his performance of the Sonata in A minor, Op. 42 (D845): “What pleased especially were the variations in my new Sonata for two hands, which I performed alone and not without merit, since several people assured me that the keys become singing voices under my hands, which, if true, pleases me greatly, since I cannot endure the accursed chopping in which even distinguished pianoforte players indulge and which delights neither the ear nor the mind.”²⁵

A professional musician, Louis Schlösser, who heard Schubert play at musical matinees, perhaps better than anyone summed up the balance of technique and emotion in what he heard:

Much as I liked the pieces I should not care to say for certain whether they were published exactly as he played them on this occasion from the sketch, improvising, as it were, rather than actually playing from the music. How spontaneous it sounded! How his eyes shone. I listened to the sounds with indescribable excitement—and yet, from the standpoint of virtuoso performance, this piano playing could not in any way compete with the world-famous Viennese master pianists. With Schubert, the expression of the emotions of the world within him obviously far outweighed his technical development. But who could think of this when, carried away by some bold flight of imagination, oblivious of everything round him, he recited the mighty C minor Fantasia [the “Wanderer”] or the A minor Sonata! It is not without reason that I choose this word; for the long familiar pieces sounded to me like dramatic recitations, like the outpourings of a soul which creates its musical forms from the depths of its being and clothes them in the garment of immaculate grace.²⁶

It took little prompting to get Schubert to play his sonatas, other works, or dance music—he could easily improvise the dances, and then frequently wrote them down for publication. Not capable of (or wishing to) dance himself, he invariably found himself at the keyboard when dancing broke out, thoroughly enjoying himself.

For Schubert the pianist, playing with others proved as much if not more pleasurable than playing by himself, and this took every imaginable form. This of course went far beyond his over 600 songs; other solo instruments needed piano accompaniments, such as the violin for its sonatas or the glorious Fantasy in C, the Introduction and Variations (on “Trockne Blumen” [“Withered Flowers”], from *Die schöne Müllerin* [“The Lovely Maid of the Mill”]) for flute, or even the much less common arpeggione, for which he wrote a sonata in A minor. Any number of chamber possibilities existed and the best known of these are the Piano Quintet (“Die Forelle” [“The Trout”]) and the piano trios, especially the ones in B flat and E flat, but also the Notturmo. An early Adagio and Rondo Concertante also includes piano with violin, viola, and cello.

Schubert and Vogl performed the songs frequently in larger public recitals, for Schubertiads, and for even smaller, more intimate gatherings. Schubert would perform the songs with other singers as well, including amateurs he did not know. One of these amateurs, Franz Stohl, a painter by profession in the service of Prince Josef Schwarzenberg, met Schubert at the home of Karl Pinterics, who introduced the painter to Schubert as an excellent singer of his song “Der Zwerg” (“The Dwarf”). The embarrassed painter protested, but Schubert sat down at the piano and started the accompaniment. Stohl could protest no longer, and taking his cue, “I sang with real inspiration. Schubert’s accompanying fired my imagination. When the song was finished, to



Schubert at the Piano with the Singer Michael Vogl, by Moritz von Schwind, 1825. Photo credit: akg-images, London.

the gratifying applause of the company, Schubert grasped my hand and, pressing it, said: 'Here is another one who understands me!' Was that not flattering? The extremely simple, silent, almost shy Schubert was by no means a flatterer, so his praise was doubly gratifying."²⁷ With Vogl, once a fine professional singer but no longer in his prime during the years Schubert knew him, something special nevertheless happened when they performed together, described by Schubert himself in glowing terms: "The manner in which Vogl sings and the way I accompany, as though we were one at such a moment, is something quite new and unheard-of for these people."²⁸

While nothing can characterize Schubert's life and career as the songs do, the works for piano in some ways do the same, not only the solo works, but also the duos for piano four-hands. The earliest known piano duo dates from 1810, and is one of a number of fantasies he wrote at the age of thirteen; he penned his last ones in June 1828, less than half a year before he died. He wrote many of these for the pure musical enjoyment of the players, but some of them have depth and substance as well, such as the Sonata in C (Grand Duo), the late Fantasy in F Minor, and the Allegro in A Minor (the so-called "Lebensstürme," or "Life's Storms"). Schubert began the practice of arranging orchestral works for piano duos early in his career, arranging his Overtures in D and C in the Italian style in 1817, and later his Overture to the opera *Alfonso und Estrella*, the Overture to *Fierrabras*, and the first of four ländler for orchestra. Recollections abound of Schubert playing duos with friends, and something transformational often happened in these performances, as in Spaun's description of Schubert playing with the virtuoso Karl Maria von Bocklet: "Bocklet played a Trio with Schuppanzigh and Linke and afterwards, with Schubert, variations on an original theme for pianoforte duet, the latter with such fire that everyone was delighted and Bocklet embraced his friend with joy."²⁹ Albert Böhm, writing about his mother Nanette Wolf in 1830 shortly after Schubert's death, reminisced about a musical evening at the home of Franz Ferdinand Ritter von Schiller: "On these evenings Schubert and Nanette used to delight the guests present with their most accomplished duet playing; for this they earned abundant applause that Schubert, modest as he was, generally tried to divert entirely to his partner, as she always had to play the more difficult but far more rewarding primo part."³⁰ As with singers, Schubert

had his favorite duo partners, and by all accounts he most preferred to play with Josef von Gahy; Spaun went so far as to say that Schubert only liked playing with Gahy.³¹ Spaun and Gahy were friends and colleagues, so Spaun may have been less than objective; unlike the professional Bocklet, Gahy was an amateur, but clearly a very talented one—exactly the kind of player Schubert, with his own limitations, would have enjoyed as a partner.

THE GENTLE PIANO

Considering the vocal nature of the gestures implied by Schubert's hairpin and wedge signs, with their instruction to pianists to "sing" the songs' accompaniments, there can be no doubt that singer and accompanist work as a duo, almost as a duo for two singers. The principle established in the songs works not only for piano accompaniments, but for the piano repertoire as well, and here Schubert could take his favorite instrument and make it sing. While the voice may lie at the heart of all music in Schubert's scheme of things, the piano held a special place since it allows the solitary musician an opportunity to indulge the deepest and most sensual musical notions alone, without relying on anyone else to capture the spirit. While of course Schubert thrived on music-making with other musicians in every possible combination, often the most satisfying musical experience was the solitary one in which nothing stood between oneself and the music, in which one has the full measure of the musical experience through the sensory act of making the music come alive, and in the emotional, sensual, and spiritual experience that results from the physical act of music-making. Everyone who plays Schubert's works can find something of what Schubert himself experienced, if not quite to the full depth to which Schubert himself could go.

Not coincidentally, this most indulgent instrument for Schubert is one associated with women, a feminine instrument, almost exclusively played by women and with a repertoire designed by composers to appeal first and foremost to women. For the male composer who treats his piano as Schubert does, that raises the prospect of the instrument playing a gendered role for himself, acting in a way as his muse, or perhaps even as a lover, certainly with the possibility of awakening

sensual and even erotic sensations. Writers made that role of the piano entirely clear in novels, perhaps nowhere more perceptively than Goethe did in *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, written in 1774, which took Europe by storm with its evocation of deep emotions and remained probably the most popular German novel during the early part of the nineteenth century. One cannot imagine that Schubert, who knew part one of *Faust*, much of *Wilhelm Meister*, and volumes of poetry, would not have read it. In the novel Werther has fallen hopelessly in love with Lotte, but her marriage requires that his love must remain unrequited. This does not deter his passion, and while in conformity with the rules of polite society she does nothing untoward to encourage him, she plays the piano, as any young woman of her breeding would. Not only does Werther find hope in Lotte's playing, but she also plays with his emotions, perhaps only unconsciously, when she plays for him.³² Lotte herself alerts us to the sensual possibilities in her playing in a letter dated 16 June of this epistolary novel, and she equates this with her passion for dancing, which she readily admits may be sinful. When troubles beset her, she likes to sit down at her badly out-of-tune piano, and play a dance—specifically a *contredanse*, which makes everything fine again.³³

Lotte's playing stirs Werther deeply, with the sensual attraction distilled into something spiritual, as he admits in his letter of 16 July. He thinks of her as a sacred being and suppresses his lust when he is in her presence, although he cannot really explain how he feels when with her, since every nerve in his body is overtaken by his soul. He refers to a particular melody that she plays angelically at the piano, with simplicity but with spirit. He tells us this is her favorite song, and when he hears the first note of it, all his pain and confusion are quelled. This provokes him to ponder the power of music itself, proclaiming that anything that has ever been stated in the past about the magical effect of music seems possible to him now. He marvels at the way this simple melody reaches him, and at her intuition about when she should play it, especially at times when he feels like committing suicide. At such moments all that profoundly troubles him dissipates, and he can breathe a sigh of relief.³⁴

In the end he succumbs to suicide, and her playing may contribute to his death, as he finds it impossible to keep his attraction to her at a purely spiritual level; he cannot respond appropriately to this

angel who plays to him. By 24 November he explains the dilemma, wondering why he cannot throw himself at her feet, or even give her an embrace and shower her with kisses. Before the urge overtakes him, she slips off to the piano and, to her own accompaniment, sings melodiously in her low but sweet voice. At such moments he cannot imagine her chaste lips to be more enchanting. Going further, he fantasizes that it is as though her lips have parted in thirst for the sweet tones that swelled forth from the instrument, although only a secretive echo emitted from them. His angel now has become erotic, as her innocent lips allure him, not only opening but thirsty, in parallel to the swelling tones of the instrument. The images can be deflected to music, but they brim with eroticism; poor Werther cannot separate the spiritual from the sensual. He cannot explain it or resist the attraction, although he vows, with head bowed, that he will never succumb to the temptation of kissing her lips, which the heavens seem to protect. Still, he wants to kiss her, and finds it all but impossible to resist the temptation and the bliss penetrating to the depth of his soul that kissing her would bring. Again he bows his head, seeking atonement for this sin.³⁵ Lotte's sensuality bursts through in her piano playing, and she may have some sense of how this affects Werther, as she too has at least a dim perception of sin. While she views him on the one hand as a friend of the family and of her husband Albert, she may also be tempted by him as a lover, and, in Steven Huff's words, "given the nexus between Lotte and the *Klavier*, the religious/erotic overtones of Lotte's music, and its ambiguous effect upon Werther all become understandable."³⁶

Numerous other poets in the second half of the eighteenth century recognized these qualities of the piano as well, and J. W. Smeed has found more than thirty poems, often by second-rate poets, with more than seventy musical settings, categorizing them with the term "süssertönendes Klavier" ("sweet-sounding piano").³⁷ Schubert found texts to pay tribute to or enshrine virtually every object or emotion of importance to himself, and one should therefore not be surprised to find him doing this with the all-important piano. Perhaps most unexpected in this case is that he extols the piano in song only twice, and one of those does not display his best musical effort. Poetry in this instance seemed not to be up to the challenge of describing what the piano meant to him, and so he achieves this in a purely musical way

with piano music itself. Still, in their own way, the two poems about the piano that he set to music tell us something crucial about the importance of the instrument to the composer, and his shared delight in it with poets. He took his texts from leading poets, from Christian Friedrich Schubart's poem "Seraphine an ihr Klavier," renamed by Schubert "An mein Klavier" ("To My Piano"), and the other "Laura am Klavier" ("Laura at the Piano") by one of the greatest of all German poets, Friedrich Schiller. He set them at about the same time, in 1816. Both draw on powerful feminine muses from the thirteenth century, one a literary muse, the other a saint now at the piano, an image that only eighteenth-century poets could project. With "An mein Klavier" Schubert wrestles the piano away from Seraphina, making it his own by changing the name and deleting the two stanzas that establish her presence in the poem.

The traditional feminine role of the piano now becomes Schubert's own, but still retains something of the original feminine character, and in the Schubart text the piano becomes a surrogate lover:

Gentle piano, what delights you bring me. While the spoilt beauties
trifle, I consecrate myself to you, dear piano.

If I am alone I whisper my innermost feelings to you, heavenly and
pure. When playing, innocent and virtuous feelings speak from you,
beloved piano.

When I sing with you, golden keyboard, what heavenly peace you
whisper to me. Your strings catch tears of joy. Silvery tones carry the
song.

Gentle piano, what delights you create within me, golden piano.
When life's cares engulf me, sing to me, faithful piano.

The opening words, "Sanftes Klavier" ("gentle piano"), repeated in the second bar, set the tone; the instrument has a feminine character, and as a "beloved" she draws the player into an intimate relationship. If she has an erotic character, that remains well hidden, surfacing only in the fusion of erotic and sacred that one expects from this type of muse. Despite Schubert's excision, Seraphina still haunts the text. She is a saint stricken with a paralyzing illness who remains in bed with constant pain but never complains, stays serene, and despite her contorted physical appearance emanates beauty through her radiant face. For Schubert the piano becomes Seraphina, possessing a heal-

ing balm, and full of innocence and virtuous sentiments that inspire a celestial reach. The glorious sounds she makes can only be described as a voice; the player sings with her, and she sings to the player, her strings becoming vocal chords that emit silvery tones.

As a composer and performer Schubert knew how to make the piano sing, but as a composer who wished his music to be published, he could not assume those who played his pieces would understand, and so he used signs such as hairpins, wedges, and slurs in the scores to show players how to make the piano sing. The keyboard instrument itself that Schubert speaks of could be the clavichord with its very gentle tone, but that appears unlikely because of the expressive demands, especially the dynamic range, so fundamental to Schubert's music. Also, the silvery tone alluded to could only come from a fortepiano, and in particular the Viennese fortepianos of the late eighteenth century, the type that Schubert himself is known to have played. In his article "Schubert and the 'Gentle Fortepiano,'" John Glogoski reminds us of the physical properties of this instrument, its small size, and its light responsive action. He refers to the fortepiano Schubert's father gave him as a gift in 1814, the illustrations by Moritz von Schwind of Schubert's room in 1821, and the water-color by Leopold Kupelwieser "The Fall, a Charade Played by the 'Schubertians' in Atzenbrugg Castle," which show relatively small Viennese fortepianos.³⁸ In a letter written to Schober in 1818, Schubert laments, "So I am all alone with my beloved [art], and must hide her in my room, in my pianoforte, and in my own heart,"³⁹ giving a feminine essence to the fortepiano similar to that of Schubert's text.

The music to "An mein Klavier" matches the text perfectly with the simplicity of its strophic setting, with voice and piano starting together to emphasize the duo relationship. The piano never sounds above an F sharp, the same high note of the voice part, and the left hand also stays well within a vocal range. The simple chordal style in the piano seems almost hymn-like, but its sacred tone gives way in the postlude to more sensuous chromatic rising passages, achieving something of the holy/erotic balance so common in literature. During the first half of the song the voice and the piano's right hand sing together, with the left hand offering an exchange, but on the word "Klavier" voice and piano disengage from their unison singing, the voice first going into an inner part and then separating completely. A few bars later they come



Franz Schubert's Room in the Wipplingerstrasse, by Moritz von Schwind, 1821. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

together again as the voice doubles the tenor voice in the left hand, and then the singer sings in thirds with the soprano voice in the right hand. With complete unaffected simplicity Schubert illustrates both piano and vocal parts as singing voices, in unison, one the extension of the other, and in intimate imitative counterpoint.

With “Laura am Klavier,” Schubert returned to Petrarch’s muse, Laura, who had inspired two of his best songs in 1814 before “Gretchen,” as noted in chapter 1, and who would turn up in various

songs throughout his career. This poem by Schiller offered great potential, as Schiller makes the holy/erotic balance explicit, in a lengthy text exploring the full range of possibilities. Petrarch's muse becomes in the eighteenth century not only more erotic than she had been for Petrarch, but finds the balance, like Goethe's Lotte, at the piano, where her playing becomes her expressive medium. She has command over life and death, and even nature stops and listens to her riveting music. Her soulful harmonies can be angelic, "like seraphim reborn, from heaven," but at the same time Schiller calls her "Zauberin" ("enchantress"), who enthralls and tempts with "ein wollustig Ungestum" ("a sensual impetuousness"). Her tone, like Schubart's, ripples with a "silberhelle" ("silvery") quality, the distinctively alluring tone of the *fortepiano*. In the end the poet asks if she is bound to divine spirits, and if they speak this language in Elysium. A poem about the heavenly and erotic enticements of the piano, even by a poet of Schiller's caliber, could never achieve what the piano could on its own, purely through musical means. Schubert's attempt to set this poem did not succeed, with its weak melodic writing, somewhat stilted piano part, and its need to revert to the old-style recitative passages more than once. It seemed as though it should work, and Schubert tried a second version, refining some of the recitative with a better accompaniment, and concluding the song with a return to the opening piano introduction instead of ending it with recitative as he had done in the first version: he improved it somewhat, but not enough to rescue it from oblivion. Its main value to us now lies in the appeal of the text itself to Schubert.

Perhaps one reason why Schiller's text worked less well for Schubert than Schubart's is that Laura's piano, as glorious and dramatic as the sounds may be, proved much more difficult to transfer into actual song than Schubart's. In fact, the difficulty in finding the singing voice in the piano part of "Laura am Klavier" may have prompted Schubert to add a large number of hairpins and wedges, almost thirty, in a futile effort to make it sing; "An mein Klavier" lacks these signs entirely, needing only a few slurs to enrich the inherently vocal character of the song. That, of course, is not to say that his good piano pieces, whether song-like or not, lack expression marks. The *Imromptu* in A flat, discussed earlier in this chapter because of the curiosity of the last few bars, has expression marks throughout; they

enhance the vocal character of passages or draw attention to harmony by prompting the vocal gesture of broadening. The first set of hairpin signs coincides with an upward melodic leap of a fifth, and has the same vocal implications as the first line and piano introduction of “Der greise Kopf.” In the autograph Schubert originally wrote a single closing hairpin sign, covering the second and third beats of the bar, but later wrote the double signs over the single one.⁴⁰ It appears that he felt the latter usage would provide a clearer sense of the nature of the vocal gesture. Just as singing is fundamental to all of his music, so is the linkage with song; Schubert’s voice reveals itself in both the medium and the message.

ORCHESTRAL PLAYER

The division in music between public and private, still very much operative during Schubert’s time—with sonatas and chamber music as private or intended for the enjoyment of players, and symphonies and opera as public or intended for a listening public—makes it easy for us to imagine Schubert’s involvement as a performer in the private types of works, but not so for the public ones. Here we need to look at the two public modes individually, in Schubert’s case separating the symphony from opera, contrary to how these had previously been regarded in respect to a listening audience. A generation earlier Haydn’s symphonies had served a distinctive public function, first for his patron, and later for noted performance associations, such as the Concert de la Loge Olympique in Paris and the professional concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms in London. In all of these later symphonies, Haydn appealed to his audience with a distinctive type of musical drama, engaging the listener with not only something to arrest attention, but also to address the great issues of the Enlightenment such as tolerance or facets of morality. Mozart may not have shared Haydn’s view on these issues, but his symphonies most certainly demand the listener’s attention through the complexity of the musical ideas and the combinations of the orchestral sounds. Beethoven learned from both of his Viennese predecessors, going as far as he could with orchestration and the idea of the symphony as a dramatic vehicle for audience edification. His *Eroica* Symphony stands at a peak as a public work, taking those who

can follow through a brilliantly orchestrated and dramatically complex process, with profound implications for humanity if they can be comprehended; Beethoven did not expect most of his audiences to grasp the profundity, but he would instruct them all the same. By the Ninth Symphony he realized the need for accessible intelligibility, and the fourth movement, referring to the previous three, lays it out in terms that much less sophisticated listeners can follow.

Unlike Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart, Schubert crossed the previously held line with his symphonies, treating the genre, at least for his first six symphonies, as a private type of composition, and, as with his chamber music, building himself into the symphonies as a performer-participant. His early experience with symphonies had much to do with this. He did not write these symphonies to be listened to passively or to be analyzed from scores; symphonies, like quartets, should be performed with other amateur musicians, in Schubert's case as a violinist or violist, combining the intimacy of the part he played with the enjoyment of the whole effect. This started at the Seminary, and Director Lang deserves the credit for creating the orchestra that had an extraordinary effect on shaping Schubert's musical life. Anton Holzapfel arrived at the Seminary two years before Schubert did, and he remained a resident until he completed his studies in law at the university; his description of the school orchestra half a century later clarifies Lang's role in getting the orchestra started.

Not a musician himself, but a great lover of music, Lang had, according to Holzapfel, the happy inspiration of starting an orchestra using only pupils at the Seminary, and, in Holzapfel's words, "training us young people, of the most diverse ages and in some cases of barely adequate musical knowledge, *avec douce violence* to the extent that every evening we were able to perform a complete symphony and, to finish up with, an overture, which had to be as noisy as possible."⁴¹ Lang felt a great commitment to his project, and he paid for strings, other instruments, and supplies out of his own pocket, and even covered the lessons for the boys on their various instruments (since this was an extracurricular activity, the Seminary budget could not be touched). Deputy Director Franz Xaver Schönberger donated the drums, making a full ensemble possible. Having no musical ability of his own, Lang put one of the senior pupils with musical skill in charge, such as Schubert's friend Spaun, and one of the junior choirboys had to

take care of all the technical matters. This busy work, which included keeping the instruments strung, lighting the candles, distributing the parts, and general care and maintenance of the instruments, had to be done by someone, and in fact Schubert, a violinist in the orchestra, did it for a number of years, until he left the Seminary. The repertoire for the daily performances included the symphonies of Haydn and Mozart, Beethoven's first two symphonies, and some of the overtures they could manage at the time, even the "Coriolan" and "Leonore" overtures. With decrepit instruments and even worse technique, the results were less than brilliant, but provided immense pleasure to all involved.

Over the years, the quality improved considerably, enough so that the ensemble could even go outside the Seminary and play for an audience, as happened just before Schubert came to the Seminary, when it played at Schönbrunn palace for Archduke Rudolf and Beethoven, who happened to be visiting his imperial pupil. Otherwise, performances remained at the Seminary, in a room just big enough for the ensemble itself, and the only audience consisted of the appreciative one that congregated in the University Square near the open windows. Spaun got to know Schubert in 1808, the year Schubert arrived at the Seminary, and took a strong interest in the young musician. Since Schubert already played the violin, he joined the orchestra immediately, and took his place just behind Spaun, the leader of the second violins, reading from the same music stand. Spaun quickly became aware that the lad standing behind him played better than he did, and observed "how the otherwise quiet and indifferent-looking boy surrendered himself in the most lively way to the impressions of the beautiful symphony we were playing."⁴² By this time they had acquired more than thirty of Haydn's symphonies, several of Mozart's, and some of Beethoven's, and according to Spaun they performed Haydn's most often and best. Of Schubert's response to the music, Spaun claimed the *adagios* from Haydn's symphonies "moved him profoundly and of the G minor Symphony by Mozart he often said to me that it produced in him a violent emotion without his knowing exactly why." The Minuet of the same work seemed enchanting to him, and the Trio he compared to angels singing. The Beethoven symphonies evoked an even stronger response.

They played not only the masters, but other composers as well, including the in-vogue Franz Krommer. Schubert had little use for Krommer, and muttered in annoyance under his breath “O how boring” whenever they played Krommer; it irked him that they played such drivel, considering that Haydn had written so many great works. The symphonies of Leopold Kozeluch fared better, prompting him to shout above the grumbling of his colleagues that “there is more rhyme and reason in this symphony than in the whole of Krommer, which you are so fond of playing.”⁴³ He enjoyed the overtures of Méhul and Abbé Georg Josef Vogler, but he could imagine no overture more wonderful than that of *Le nozze di Figaro*, with the possible exception, upon reflection, of *Die Zauberflöte*. It did not take long for Schubert to move up to first violin, and in the absence of Court organist Wenzel Ruzicka, who directed with his violin bow, Schubert would take that role. After leaving the Seminary, Schubert came back regularly to play with the orchestra, and on Sundays he would bring his own works for the orchestra to perform.

As enjoyable as it must have been to return to the Seminary orchestra, Schubert eventually outgrew this ensemble of schoolboys, although in no way did his urge to play the symphonic repertoire diminish. On returning home from the Seminary in 1813, the opportunity to continue this type of playing soon arose at his own home, as Sonnleithner describes in detail. The quartet grew into a larger ensemble as others gradually joined in, and the growth took a decisive turn in 1814 with the return from military duty of Schubert’s boyhood friend Josef Doppler, an enthusiastic musical amateur who played a number of string and wind instruments. Others also joined, including the cellists Johann Kamauf and Karl Wittmann, and the bass player Redpacher, and now they could play Haydn symphonies in quartet arrangements, with each part doubled, instead of only the quartets or *Divertimenti a tré* possible a short time earlier.

As the group expanded, the Schubert household burst at the seams, and a larger place to play needed to be found. The merchant Franz Frischling had a large drawing room at his house on Dorotheergasse, and the group then met twice a week there, under the direction of the violinist Josef Prohaska. The little orchestra continued to grow, adding

new players on horn, flute, oboe, clarinet, and bassoon, allowing them to manage smaller symphonies by Pleyel, Rosetti, Haydn, Mozart, and others; the size of Frischling's room even allowed a few listeners to be present. Soon this space proved too cramped, so by the end of 1815 Otto Hatwig took the group to his house in Schottenhof, and he, a former member of the Burgtheater orchestra, became the leader. With his move in 1818 to Gundelhof he took the orchestra with him, and by now its size and quality allowed the members to play the larger symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, Krommer, Romberg, and Beethoven's first two; they also played overtures of Cherubini, Spontini, Catel, Méhul, Boieldieu, Weigl, and Winter. Concertos also became part of the repertoire, as various young women occasionally played piano concertos, and members of the ensemble offered concertos on violin, flute, and horn. Schubert remained a member as long as the orchestra lasted, leading the viola section. When Hatwig's health began to fail, the company moved to the apartment of Anton Pettenkofer in the Bauernmarkt, a space with side rooms able to accommodate a larger audience. Now they played not only orchestral works, but performed oratorios as well, including the *Messiah* and *The Creation*. In the fall of 1820 the group finally disbanded, when Pettenkofer hit the jackpot in the state lottery and retired to a country estate. The ensemble had now outgrown any affordable space, and met its demise in part because of Pettenkofer's good fortune.⁴⁴

Schubert not only played violin or viola in these orchestras, but he also wrote music for them, certainly his first six symphonies, and other vocal works as well when the orchestra expanded its repertoire beyond instrumental works. In all probability he wrote his first symphony for the Seminary orchestra, completing it in late October 1813, just after leaving the Seminary and while he still returned to be part of the group. He wrote the next five symphonies for performance by the Hatwig ensemble, along with a number of other orchestral pieces. Sonnleithner informs us that "about this time, and for these occasions, Franz Schubert composed a charming symphony in B flat major [no. 2, 1815] 'without trumpets and drums', as well as a larger one in C major [no. 6, 1818] and the well-known overture 'im italienischen Stil'."⁴⁵ He neglects to mention nos. 3 through 5 and one or two other overtures, but presumably not because the group did not play them. After 1818 Schubert lapsed into his years of symphonic crisis, not completing

so much as a movement until the first two movements of the “Unfinished” Symphony in 1822, and during this time he struggled with coming to terms with Beethoven and the urge to write public works. The final result of this, the “Great” Symphony in C, one of the masterpieces of the orchestral repertoire, much to our relief maintained its distance from Beethoven,⁴⁶ and continued to speak in his distinctive voice. In a sense the Schubert who previously performed his own earlier symphonies continued to perform and invite his listeners to do the same in the last two symphonies.

Looking at Schubert’s entire output as a composer reveals that he built himself into almost every type of composition as a performer. Because he was proficient on the piano, violin, and viola, he could play in any of his instrumental works, and with the exception of a few of the later ones, he did. He could perform vocal works as well, as a singer or accompanist of the songs, as a participant in part songs, and even as a performer (or director) of his early sacred works. Unlike some composers a little later in the nineteenth century who would become more specialized in certain musical genres, Schubert still belonged to the generation of universalist composers, writing every possible type of existing composition. At least one exception to this exists: Schubert avoided concertos—although in 1816 he presented two modest efforts, one the *Konzertstück* for violin and orchestra (D345) and the other a rondo for violin and strings (D438). He would never attempt it again, and quite possibly the idea of a work that required a virtuoso performance simply did not appeal to him. He surely recognized the intimacy Mozart had achieved with many of his piano concertos, but not being a pianist of Mozart’s caliber, it made little sense for him to try to do something with this type of public work. It would take another virtuoso with a deep sense of spirituality and inward reflection to recognize this potential for Schubert; Franz Liszt gave us a Schubert piano concerto with his arrangement of the “Wanderer” Fantasy.

* * *

What difference does it make that Schubert performed in almost all of his works, with the exception of operas, that he thrived on playing his own works with other amateurs, and that he did this not as an exceptional player, but simply as one of the group? Since he wrote the vast majority of his works for these intimate performing settings,

both solo and ensemble, he places himself in his own audience, experiencing the works in much the same way as the other participants. He wished more than anything to share his works with others able to understand them, and that understanding in large measure arises from an ability to perform them, as Schubert himself performs them, finding something that cannot arise from a listening experience. All those people over the past two centuries who have learned to play an instrument or sing, who have at one time or another played a Schubert sonata, quartet, symphony, or have sung a Schubert song find themselves in a unique position as members of an audience of a Schubert work: even if they do not actually perform, they do indirectly as members of the audience, re-creating a musical experience that they can grasp in a special way because of the tactile and sensory experience of being able to perform. Very simply, Schubert wrote much of his music for the large body of amateur musicians, and for them the rewards of both playing and listening are unique.

As musicians know, something special happens when playing, something very different from listening, but describing this uniquely musical experience is not easy since it reaches to a heightened emotional or spiritual level that by and large defies translation into prose. Composers invite listeners without musical skills at concerts into an experience of sound and drama that of course can be highly rewarding as it finds a level of abstraction that cannot be found in words or visual images. For concertgoers, a gloriously sensual world can be found in the possibilities of sound combinations, and they can experience drama as well, as composers frequently present musical forces in opposition that arrive at reconciliation or some other type of conclusion.

Those who can and do perform music have all of these possibilities available to them, but they have others as well that give them a distinct advantage: they have the extraordinary sensation that arises from making the work come alive through their own involvement. This arises from a physical energy in the hands and other parts of the body, and the transformation of that energy into the production of a desirable sound, which may stand alone or becomes something else when combined with other sounds. While that gives a physical sense of what happens, it does not adequately account for what actually happens—the sensation that the player experiences in the transformation of this

physical energy into sound, not just any sound, but a sound poetically charged, capable of stirring us at the deepest possible level, or simply offering an enjoyment of pleasurable musical ideas and sensations. In this experience the musician not only hears the composer's voice, as the audience member does, but becomes a part of it and is engulfed in it, gaining access to the composer that would not otherwise be possible. In this sense the composer's voice also becomes the musician's voice, and what the composer "says" is not merely something the player hears, but experiences in a very different way, making it difficult to distinguish from one's own sensibilities. In order to achieve this sensation, the player need not perform flawlessly; amateurs have the same accessibility as anyone else, and in fact the experience may be even more accessible to amateurs, who do not need to spend endless amounts of time perfecting and polishing details. Just as Schubert himself lacked virtuosity, players also do not need it to experience his music at the highest performance level.

While this may be operative for the works of many composers, certainly much of the chamber music repertoire (with the exception of works such as Beethoven's late quartets), the song repertoire of the nineteenth century, or much of the solo piano repertoire (Schumann, a great admirer of Schubert, clearly designates some of his piano pieces for amateurs), it has significance for Schubert unlike any other composer because of his involvement in his own works as a performer. He did not write his music because he believed he had deeper emotions, more complex ideas, or a more profound spiritual grasp than others; all of this may have been true, but Schubert does not force this on us. He takes his place with us in the orchestra, or playing viola in string quartets, glancing over at the rest of us making the music on other instruments with knowing or encouraging looks, giving a smile at moments of understanding or the occasional scowl if we do not get it. His presence among his contemporaries also keeps him present with us: his wish to share the experience with them as participants works for us, too, and we only need to play his music or listen to it as implied players to re-create that presence.

The nature of the experience varies greatly, depending on whether one plays alone or with others, or the type of ensemble involved (the smaller the ensemble, the greater the player's responsibility); similarly, the nature of the work itself, such as its degree of lightness or

seriousness, affects the experience. Unlike some of his predecessors, Schubert seldom allows an imbalance of parts in any type of ensemble activity. Even in piano duos, divided into *primo* and *secondo* parts, while the *primo* may be more challenging, the *secondo* plays every bit as crucial a role, sometimes with the melodic interest. And, Schubert would assume, if players of roughly equal skill perform the duos, they will regularly trade parts, experiencing the music from both top and bottom. For performers of the songs, the point will be missed if they proceed with the assumption that Schubert designed them for soloist and accompanist, the piano taking a secondary role. These function as duos for voice and piano, and Schubert gives us some sense of that with his comment about how he and Vogl performed them. He uses the word “accompany,” but he describes something very different, a coming together “as though we were one at such a moment”⁴⁷; invariably the music makes it entirely clear that one should aspire to this goal.

The distance between quartet and symphony was not all that great for Schubert, especially when his performing group could experience symphonies in quartet versions, doubling the parts if more than four people turned up. In fact, in a letter from 1824 he suggests that he planned to write another quartet at that time to “prepare the way for a big symphony.”⁴⁸ Like any first-rate composer, Schubert took orchestration very seriously, and for any symphony to be enjoyed to the fullest, all instrumental parts had to be covered. The larger the ensemble, the less the sense of individual involvement for the string players, but in Schubert’s orchestrations individuals on all instruments play a critical role, contributing to the whole with distinctive sounds or in unique combinations. The danger in halls with space for large audiences is that in the necessity to direct the sound out into the hall, some players lose a sense of the whole, hearing only what immediately surrounds them. That, of course, did not resemble Schubert’s own performance experience with his symphonies. Playing in a classroom at the Seminary or in the large drawing room of a friend meant that players would be positioned so they could hear the whole, and the size of the space in any event would make this possible. A symphony then became an extended chamber work, an amplification of a quartet to include full orchestra, with distinctive writing for all parts. Here each player could respond not only to the leader but also to each other, and especially to Schubert in the viola section.

There most assuredly are implications for listeners at concerts resulting from the fact that Schubert performed in his own works. Amateur players or singers can project themselves into the performance in a virtual way, feeling something of the energy that produces the physical act of performing. For them, very little distance exists between the composer and themselves, as they can be involved directly in the work, regardless of the type, feel the physical sensation of playing and the transference of that direct involvement to something they can feel within, as though it arises within themselves.

NOTES

1. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 335–36.
2. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 35.
3. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 298.
4. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 227.
5. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 336.
6. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 138.
7. Walther Dürr, “Schubert and Johann Michael Vogl: A Reappraisal,” *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 126–40.
8. Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, ed. and trans. Vernon Gotwals (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 61.
9. C. P. E. Bach, introduction to *Essays on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. William J. Mitchell (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949), 16.
10. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 31.
11. This section is a revised version of my article “Schubert the Singer,” *The Music Review* 49 (1988): 254–66.
12. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 336–37.
13. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 337.
14. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 337.
15. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 338.
16. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 458.
17. I would like to thank the staff of the Pierpont Morgan Library for placing the autograph score of *Winterreise* at my disposal, as well as the

staff of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung, for doing the same with the copy of part one prepared for the publisher Haslinger. A facsimile of the autograph is available (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library/Dover Publications, 1989).

18. Walther Dürr, *Vorwort, Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, Ser. 4, vol. 4a: *Lieder* (Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1979), xxi.

19. David Schroeder, "Schubert's 'Einsamkeit' and Haslinger's 'Weiterreise,'" *Music and Letters* 71 (1990): 358–60.

20. Gerald Moore, *The Schubert Song Cycles* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975), x.

21. Eric Heidsieck, "Dynamics or Motion? An Interpretation of Some Musical Signs in Romantic Piano Music," *The Piano Quarterly* 140 (1987–88): 56–58.

22. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 37.

23. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 194.

24. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 146.

25. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 436.

26. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 330.

27. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 374.

28. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 458.

29. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 138.

30. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 247.

31. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 130 and 358.

32. Steven R. Huff, "Lotte's Klavier: A Resounding Symbol in Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*," *The Germanic Review* 59 (1984): 46.

33. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther and Selected Writings*, trans. Catherine Hutter (New York: New American Library, 1962), 37.

34. Goethe, *The Sorrows*, 51.

35. Goethe, *The Sorrows*, 95.

36. Huff, "Lotte's Klavier," 47.

37. J. W. Smeed, "'Süssertönendes Klavier': Tributes to the Early Piano in Poetry and Song," *Music and Letters* 66 (1985): 228–40.

38. John Glofcheskie, "Schubert and the 'Gentle Fortepiano,'" *Musick: A Quarterly Journal* 11, no. 3 (January 1990): 2–9.

39. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert's Letters and Other Writings*, trans. Venetia Savile (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 42.

40. David Schroeder, "Schubert the Singer," *The Music Review* 49 (1988): 265.

41. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 57–58.

42. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 126.

-
43. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 126.
 44. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 339–41.
 45. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 340.
 46. Peter Gülke, “The Counter-Symphony—Schubert’s ‘Great’ C Major Symphony as an Answer to Beethoven,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 52 (1997): 22–31.
 47. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 458.
 48. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert’s Letters*, 80.

Chapter Three



The Good Life

WHEN SCHUBERT BOLTED FROM HIS teaching post and took refuge at the home of his friend Franz von Schober, he temporarily dodged the stifling atmosphere of his father's home and workplace. If he thought he had escaped Prince von Metternich's odious "system," enforced by the likes of Austria's chief of police, Josef Graf von Sedlnitsky, he of course was sadly mistaken; now enjoying the good life, sharing lodging and spending his evenings with friends—some of whom fell under the watchful eye of the secret police—and consuming unseemly amounts of beer or wine at favorite haunts, Schubert soon got his taste of what Sedlnitsky's police could do.

STUDENT RADICALS

Shortly after the Congress of Vienna, student organizations began to attract the attention of Metternich and Sedlnitsky, for example the Reformation Festival (also called the Wartburg Festival) held at Wartburg Castle on 17, 18, and 19 October 1817, which celebrated the fourth anniversary of the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig and the 300th anniversary of Luther's famed posting of his Ninety-Five Theses in 1517. Sedlnitsky ordered a thorough investigation of this subversive event, and discovered the most dangerous activities right under his nose in Vienna, where student clubs and fraternities sprouted like mushrooms. In May 1818 Sedlnitsky informed Metternich that, at

a meeting in Naumburg in Saxony, a constitution for the so-called Burschenschaft had been drafted. A couple of months later Metternich wrote to one of his officials warning that “we are completely convinced that of all the evils afflicting Germany today, even including the licentiousness of the press, this student nuisance is the greatest, the most urgent, and the most threatening.”¹ Metternich may have felt only contempt for students, but with Emperor Franz breathing down his neck, he had little choice but to take the threat seriously. By early 1819 an agent in Vienna discovered that the Burschenschaft supported a unification of all German lands under one head of state; they proposed a union, much to Metternich’s dismay, with Prussia, a move that would force Franz into the political wilderness. For their motto, the Burschenschaft adopted “Ehre, Freiheit, Vaterland” (“Honor, Freedom, Fatherland”), cryptically reduced to the initials EFV. The students proved remarkably well organized, with some traveling from one university to another within the realm to create new societies and spread the eagerly received message of discontent. One of these students, Count Colloredo, a Burschenschaft activist who had been arrested in Prague early in 1819, arrived in Vienna later that year and made contact with the then-active Bildungs (educational) circle to which Schubert belonged,² a circle of friends that writers on Schubert have generally taken to be apolitical. One should not discount the possibility that their activities in music, literature, and art may have been a front to cover more subversive inclinations, giving them an aura of acceptability to avoid harassment from the secret police.

Whether or not they thought in those terms, they failed to stave off police harassment. On one fateful night in March 1820, Schubert and his friends went on a drunken tear—not, apparently, an unusual way to spend the evening—and, after closing down the inn, made their way back to the rooms of Johann Senn, one of Schubert’s close friends from seminary days. On entering Senn’s lodging they received a nasty surprise, as they were accosted by the police who had had ample opportunity to rifle through all of Senn’s possessions. The police found the incriminating evidence they wanted, linking Senn to the Burschenschaft, including various regalia, songs, and most notably a shillelagh (Zeighenhainer) with the carved letters “EFV” above a symbol of crossed swords. To make matters worse, they discovered a list of students’ names.³ When confronted by the police, the three friends

Senn, Schubert, and Joseph Ludwig von Streinsberg, along with two others who arrived later, Johann Baptist Zechenter and Franz von Bruchmann, having swilled down much more than their share of beer by this late hour, did not handle the situation with tact. With tongues loosened, they threw abuse at the High Commissioner of Police, Leopold Ferstl, after he arrested them, using language he delicately called “insulting and opprobrious” in his report, which probably means they got into scurrilous language laced with scatological vocabulary that Ferstl would have known well.

Senn went even further, showing his contempt for the constabulary by railing that he did not give a damn about the police, and continued to insult the higher authorities as well, sneering that “the Government was too stupid to be able to penetrate into his secrets.”⁴ He lived to regret those words, true as he may have believed them to be. The police arrested all of them, and decreed that they should all appear before a magistrate for severe reprimands—to say nothing of informing Streinsberg’s and Bruchmann’s fathers of their sons’ conduct. Senn, though, went to trial and for his “excessive and reprehensible behaviour” was “suitably punished.” By the time Sedlnitsky wrote his decree on the matter to the Supreme Constabulary on 25 March 1820, the names of Schubert and Zechenter had been dropped; either their language had been somewhat less vulgar, or they managed to pull rank. In Schubert’s case, if he managed to pull rank, it was because of his reputation as a musician, which the authorities may have preferred to leave publicly unsullied. Privately, though, Schubert now had a police record, and this meant the police would want to keep an eye on him and could restrict his movements in various ways. As for Senn, the court threw the book at him, keeping him behind bars for almost fourteen months during his trial, and then deporting him permanently from Vienna to his native Tyrol, where he tried his hand as a law clerk, then a soldier and a military instructor, finally reaching an officer’s rank. Schubert never saw him again.

WIT, BLUDGEONS, AND *SCHLAMPEREI*

The Austrian intellectual landscape during the reign of Emperor Franz gives the impression of being entirely devoid of political thought, with



Schubert and Friends, by Joseph Eduard Teltscher, 1827. Photo credit: akg-images, London.

secret police poised to swoop down and nip the first hint of political discussion in the bud. Visitors to Vienna at the time made much of this silence, utterly foreign in most cases to their own experience in England or Prussia, although they may not have picked up that most Viennese seemed too bored with politics to talk about it. Some foreigners concluded that because of the police state Austrians reverted to purely sensuous pleasures, most abundantly food and drink, a booming prostitution business in Vienna, and the arts as well, especially music. One of these outside observers, a British doctor, Henry Reeve, summed up what he thought typified the Viennese in 1805 and 1806: “The Viennese are a very sensual people. They take snuff and smoke and delight in music, and go continually to sights [events such as bear-baiting], and game, and intrigue, and eat and drink.”⁵ His indignation about loose morals and prostitution as a normal part of polite society is topped only by the kind of conversation that he imagined arose because of the political taboo: “Even at meals the symptoms

of dysentery, diarrhoea and the like are often discussed.” All of this may have been true, but it does little to explain the apparent lack of political discussion at this time in Vienna. Beethoven, himself a recent arrival in 1794, and by all appearances not well-disposed toward the Viennese outlook, had his own peculiar view on the matter, which he expressed to the publisher Simrock, in the heat of August: “The Viennese fear that soon they won’t be able to get any more ice cream, for winter was so mild that ice is scarce. Several important persons have been imprisoned here. It is said that a revolution was about to break out—but I believe that as long as the Austrian has some dark beer and little sausages he will not revolt.”⁶

Austria may have been a police state in 1820, but we should not confuse that with the brutal regimes of the twentieth century. In fact, a basic flaw existed in Metternich’s system, which had much to do with Metternich’s German background (he hailed from the Rhineland) and mode of thinking. He emerged at a critical time, maneuvering with adroit diplomatic skill through the Congress of Vienna, placing Austria in the most favorable possible position to get what it wanted and keeping the other major powers at bay, not only then but for the next two decades. In contrast, at home nothing ran smoothly, not only in the nightmarish mess of Austrian bureaucracy but in the highest levels of government as well. Emperor Franz did not exactly stand out as a bright light, this dull and mediocre despot who bequeathed on his deathbed his legacy to his successor: “Regiere und ändere nichts!” (“Govern and change nothing!”). He lacked self-confidence and decisiveness, coped poorly with intelligence around him, suspected almost everyone, got special satisfaction from reading police reports, and lacked any sense of human warmth. Pedantry became his hallmark as he relished the most tediously bureaucratic paper work, spending long hours every day sifting through reams of information.⁷ In dealing with him on domestic matters, Metternich had little choice but to become a paper pusher too, writing Franz hundreds of reports and strategic papers that might or might not be heeded, and that gave the impression of a repressive system much nastier than it actually was.

Buried in his official reports, Franz managed to insulate himself from anything that resembled reality, and, through censorship as well as travel restrictions, succeeded in protecting the nation from reality, too. Franz succeeded in keeping most citizens ignorant of thinking

of events from the rest of Europe. Only one department of the bureaucracy, that responsible for censorship, which after 1801 came under the control of the police, had any contact with reality at all; its job was to prevent any reality from seeping through.⁸ Yet censorship proved more of a nuisance (at times maybe a headache) than a genuine hardship, certainly full of holes or subject to selective application. For example, under Joseph's brand of censorship in the 1780s, a subversive foreign writer's works such as those of Voltaire could be obtained easily enough, provided one wished to acquire them in the original French. French-language works were allowed since only intellectuals or members of the aristocracy could read that language and they would not likely misuse it the way the lower-class agitators might. In Franz's Vienna of the early nineteenth century, all intellectuals fell under suspicion, so the language alone proved insufficient to allow copies of Voltaire to get through; now they had to be in French *and* leather-bound, since paper- or cloth-bound volumes could fall into the hands of poor revolutionaries, whereas expensive volumes (especially collected works) would stay on the shelves of persons of wealth who posed no real threat to security.

A bureaucracy that kept itself busy writing reports was fairly limited in what it could accomplish, and in any event, as this was Austria and not Prussia, efficiency ranked low on the priority list. Metternich could only watch in dismay and write more pointless reports as officials high and low did what officials under the Habsburgs had always done and would continue to do until 1914: bend the rules, not push anything too hard, overlook certain violations, perhaps even take bribes, obsequiously make concessions to the upper nobility, and wallow in a muddled officialdom apparently lacking any sense of direction. This bureaucratic spirit in Austria, entirely alien to that of Prussia, and in fact regarded as an asset by those wishing to avoid comparison with the cold, efficient, inhumane north, even had its own name, *Schlamperei*, giving an approach to government affectionately called "ein durch Schlamperei gemilderter Absolutismus" ("Absolutism mitigated by Schlamperei") by Viktor Adler at the end of the century.⁹

Censorship fell under the purview of the police, and the censors proved very strange bedfellows to their new colleagues. The police force could happily employ beer drinkers and sausage eaters, fairly coarse and pliable fellows who needed only to follow commands

from above, who could occasionally look forward to cracking a few heads—especially if they belonged to insolent students—and could leave the writing of reports to high commissioners or chief constables. Employment among the ranks of censors proved a much more delicate matter: first, they had to be able to read quickly and then make critical evaluations about acceptability. Very few people had the background and intelligence to carry out such a task—in fact, only those with a university education could do it, and if they had gone to university, more than likely they had been touched in one way or another by the Burschenschaft, and at the very least would be well aware of Josephinian reforms, which, despite Metternich's best efforts, remained a wistful memory (Metternich himself was a university-educated reformer who had to settle for applying his ample skills in the international arena). The censors, among them Schubert's dear friend Mayrhofer, found themselves in a situation even more absurd than their truncheon-wielding counterparts in that they became the enforcers of morality and political attitudes that had turned Austria into the laughing-stock of the rest of Europe,¹⁰ and which most of them probably despised. No doubt many indulged in a different type of *Schlamperei*, a heady variety that turned censorship into a type of mind game, in which they would give the appearance of doing the job, but would find the loopholes (such as leather bindings) that would eventually let things through. For Austrian writers and playwrights the nuisance of the game could be frustrating in the extreme, and occasionally could prevent publication or performance, but more often than not, as with the plays of Franz Grillparzer, who complained bitterly and justifiably about the process, those works did reach the stage or achieved publication.

The game, and for many a bright young Austrian it was exactly that, worked from the other side as well. For decades secret societies of all kinds had received special attention from emperors and the police; these societies were considered subversive and threatening since not only students joined them but career people as well. The Freemasons proved especially troublesome, and Joseph hit them hard with his *Freimaurerpatent* ("Decree on Freemasonry") in 1785, drastically reducing the number of lodges so that the few remaining could be more easily observed and contained; his brother Leopold, fearful of Jacobins but every bit as much a reformer, made freemasonry illegal

in Austria before his death in 1792, and no subsequent Habsburg monarch would rescind that prohibition. The games began much earlier, when, near the middle of the eighteenth century, Empress Maria Theresa ordered a raid on a lodge with full knowledge that her husband attended the meeting; Mozart too surely played games with his *Die Zauberflöte*, which gives the impression of Masonic support, but subtly undermines that by treating the Masonic leader Sarastro like a stuffy old bore while giving the good musical parts to Papageno and the Queen of the Night. The assault on all secret societies continued relentlessly during Franz's reign, with Police Minister Count Pergen, reinstated after his falling out with Leopold, writing to each provincial governor in 1793 that "Your Excellency will . . . tolerate no reading clubs or other secret gatherings, no matter what their name. These rarely aim at anything good, and because of their potentialities for evil may become dangerous in spite of any laudable intentions they may possess. This has been amply demonstrated by experience."¹¹ Metternich shared these sentiments exactly, and he instructed Sedlnitsky, who sometimes seemed lax on the matter, to be more vigilant in investigating and raiding troublesome societies, and to cooperate with international forces, including those from Prussia, in waging war on all secret and potentially revolutionary organizations. The message should have been loud and clear that Franz would not tolerate reading clubs or any other types of societies, and logic would suggest that sensible people would avoid creating them. On the contrary, they popped up like apples in the Austrian intellectual barrel, in defiance of Franz, Metternich, and the police.

POLICE BAITING

How does one account for this explosion of secret or semi-secret societies, which appealed so immensely to Schubert at every stage of his life, during a time when the only certainty about any given club or society was that the police would eventually crack down on it? For students who held revolutionary leanings and imagined that they had little to lose, one can understand why they would hold clandestine meetings to plot the re-creation of a society that might show glimmers of the justice and fairness of their beloved Joseph II. But what of the

hundreds of professionals, civil servants, artists, and intellectuals who formed an endless number of societies, men young and old who risked their careers and reputations? Why take the risk? Quite frankly, it was too much fun not to do so.

Baiting appeared to be an unshakable part of the Viennese mindset, and was lamented by the fusty British visitor, Dr. Reeve, who could not get his mind around the vulgarity of his hosts. Numerous local writers from Schubert's time and earlier also described the practice. The pageantry surrounding the barbaric spectacle of animal baiting could not be topped, much to the disgust of the keenly observant Vienna watcher, Johann Pezzl, who described the spectacle with all its blood and gore in vivid detail.¹² Animal baiting had a huge appeal to members of every class and age, and apparently even to some intellectuals, although this group discovered a more enticing and dangerous type of baiting, namely, police baiting. Here, instead of watching the dogs torment the lumbering beast, it became a war of wits, pitting the evasive cleverness of those with nimble minds against the plodding beast of authority, represented by dimwitted police. The police did not have to be drugged, like baited animals were, to make them incompetent since they had paper work and *Schlamperei* to keep them in that state. Schubert's friend, Senn, taunted the police with being too stupid to find his secrets, and even Schubert himself got into the spirit. The danger, of course, always existed that the bear could bite its prey, and that happened to poor Senn.

A good number of the secret societies seemed to exist for no reason other than to bait the police, especially the ones that claimed no high literary or artistic purpose, but indulged in nothing other than unadulterated nonsense. One of these clubs, the Ludlamshöhle ("Ludlam's Cave"), did not include Schubert among its members, but was populated by some of his friends, to say nothing of the best and brightest of Vienna—civil servants, businessmen, and even distinguished foreign visitors. The police had nagging doubts about the innocence of this club and watched it closely, so much so that when visitors inquired about the whereabouts of notable persons the police could direct them to the Ludlamshöhle.¹³ The name has a wonderfully subversive ring to it, although it happened to be taken from the title of a play by the visiting Danish playwright Adam Oehlenschläger; the smoky, cavernous rooms of the inn where they typically met probably

helped with the choice of a name. Political discussion was strictly taboo in this club, and the members themselves enforced this with such rigor that the police should have been proud. But still, it made the police nervous, as any secret society would that was modeled on a Masonic lodge. The Ludlamshöhle used facetious rites and rituals and code names for members (Grillparzer as “Saphokles der Istrianer” after his play *Sappho*, Karl Maria von Weber as “Agathe der Zieltref-fer” of course from *Der Freischütz*, and the actor Heinrich Anschütz as “Lear der Neuwieder” from his role as King Lear and his home in the suburb of Neu-Wieden).¹⁴ To get anywhere in this club one had to have a quick wit, although mostly the members ate, smoked, and drank, and best of all told dirty jokes and sang ribald songs.

After much earnest probing, the police had had enough and made their move, at night of course, in April 1826; thirty-two officers raided the club, confiscated papers, and woke and arrested various members, including Grillparzer. The police believed they were onto something big, a genuine conspiracy emerging from a bundle of coded letters (in fact greeting letters written in Yiddish by a Jewish mother to her son), poisonous powders (Castelli’s cough medicine), and jokes and riddles that could only be encrypted messages with politically subversive meaning.¹⁵ One can easily imagine the police inspector coming across a riddle such as “Was können Sie, ich aber nicht?” (“What can you do that I cannot?”), with all its possibilities for defining differences between intellectual revolutionaries and those in authority, and making the assumptions that the things “I cannot do” referred to political activities or the possession of censored books, or even the power to govern. The answer to the riddle could be a password phrase for revolutionaries, revealing what they most ardently strove for—a key to a hellish plot to undermine the entire Metternich system of government. The members of the club endured intense interrogation to expose the secret answer, and to reveal the plot against the government and identify themselves as revolutionaries who merely put up an apolitical front to disguise the depth of their nefarious schemes. The questioning continued for half an hour, with first-rate wits restraining themselves from saying anything, despite the all-but-irresistible challenge of coming up with answers that would satisfy the police. Finally one of the members cracked, unable to hold it in any longer, and blurted out the answer, in code of course, to howls of laughter from

his “co-conspirators,” although definitely not from the interrogators: “LMIA!” (Leck mich im Arsch [“lick my arse”]).

Members claimed the club never met again, but the police records suggest otherwise. Schubert may not have belonged to the Ludlamshöhle (although he intended to join, but was prevented by the raid), but that did not stop him from joining another similar group, equally packed with the intelligentsia, the Unsinnsgesellschaft—literally, the Nonsense Society.¹⁶ The only serious risk in belonging to one of these clubs lay in how one would react to the police during a raid. If one belonged to a society that placed drinking high among its priorities, the danger always existed of being dead drunk when the raid occurred and verbally abusing the witless oafs making the arrest. Since the police themselves conducted the trials and handed out the sentences, they could always nail their quarry on scatological contempt if not actual subversion, and to the extent that they understood this type of baiting, they could get their revenge with very stiff punishments, as they did with Senn.

SCHUBERT AND SCHOBER

Schubert lived very much on the edge of the subversive underbelly of Viennese society, although he and his friends had to tread carefully. Some had a foot in both camps, and happily lived double lives, although each had stronger leanings in one direction or the other. Only one of Schubert’s friends, Franz von Schober, seemed to be genuinely subversive, at least during the years before Schubert’s death. Schober resisted conventional society in every possible way, and from the time they first met in 1815 until Schubert died, Schober remained Schubert’s closest friend. Other members of Schubert’s circle of friends had serious concerns about Schober, prompted no doubt by their less radically subversive inclinations; in fact, they regretted the influence Schober had on Schubert. Shortly after Schubert met Schober, Anton Ottenwalt complained about Schober to Spaun that “the blossom is blighted; where shall the fruit come from?”¹⁷ When something seemed to be developing between Schober and Spaun’s sister Marie, Spaun’s mother quickly put an end to it because, according to Spaun, Schober lacked religion. The families managed to

reconcile, but that did not happen with the Bruchmann family. After the secret engagement of Schober and Justina von Bruchmann, the sister of Franz von Bruchmann, one of the co-conspirators arrested in the police raid on Senn's lodgings, Bruchmann unleashed venomous language against Schober, claiming later that he, Bruchmann, had thwarted a churl who had "the outrageous temerity to seek to sully one of the most precious jewels of my family."¹⁸

The most blistering attack on Schober came from Josef Kenner, who, despite his lack of contact with the circle after 1816, called Schober a "false prophet" who "won a lasting and pernicious influence over Schubert's honest susceptibility," a "seducer, who embellished sensuality in such a flattering manner" that even "more hardened characters than he [Schubert] were seduced, for longer or shorter periods, by the devilish attraction of associating with that apparently warm but inwardly merely vain being, into worshipping him as an idol."¹⁹ Kenner wrote this in 1858, and whatever the indiscretions of his own youth, his adherence to traditional values now provoked this outburst. In fact, in describing Schubert he lamented that "anyone who knew Schubert knows how he was made of two natures, foreign to each other, how powerfully the craving for pleasure dragged his soul down to the slough of moral degradation."²⁰ Kenner blamed Schober for Schubert's indiscretions, but Schubert needed little prompting to indulge in serious drinking, visiting prostitutes, and perhaps even using drugs.²¹ One can only imagine that Schubert and Schober's friendship lasted as long as it did at least in part because of their shared vices.

Some of Schubert's behavior went beyond matters of lifestyle, appearing actually to be intended to shock the good citizenry of Vienna. In her biography on Schubert, Elizabeth Norman McKay lists some of his infractions.²² Leopold Sonnleithner, trying his best to advance the composer's career, could not imagine why Schubert would get drunk in public, pointing to his disgraceful inebriation on one occasion "in a house where he had not long been known and where he had only been introduced a short time previously."²³ Another time Gerhard von Breuning told of Schubert having so much to drink at the home of a "middle-class family in the Landstrasse"²⁴ that he had to be carried out of the room. Schubert made no class distinctions with his drinking; he once arrived drunk, according to Josef Hüttenbrenner, at the posh home of the president of the Supreme Court of Justice,

probably, Otto Erich Deutsch surmises, Karl Josef Pratobevera von Wiesborn who lived near the Kärntnertor.²⁵ Most people would avoid such embarrassments, but if one felt contempt for the ruling system, what better way to deride it than to turn up drunk at the home of one of Metternich's high officials? Even Schober, who hailed from a wealthier background, would probably not have gone that far.

Other escapades with Schober also teetered on the edge of social acceptability, and some of their other friends also happily participated, often relishing the headaches these would give the authorities. First among these stands the reading clubs Schubert belonged to throughout his life, almost always with Schober as the literary leader of the group or in a prominent leadership position. Friends who complained about Schober's negative influence invariably prefaced their remarks with a compliment to his intelligence, always rating it above their own; even the disgruntled Kenner went so far as to describe Schober as scintillating and brilliant. Not only exceptionally well read, Schober also wrote avidly, in the first instance poetry, but other genres as well, and while he cannot be described as a major poet, he had considerable talent. Schubert set twelve of his poems, and at least one of these, "An die Musik," yielded one of his finest songs. While the authorities considered reading clubs dangerous, and did not tolerate their existence, stopping them required the work of spies since small clubs could successfully avoid the attention of the police by moving from one member's lodging to another or to different taverns. Even gatherings that involved music played by more than one instrument required police permission; the notion that orchestration could be subversive no doubt bemused a composer such as Schubert. With the more vexatious reading clubs incendiary material could be smuggled into Vienna and discussed.

The members of the reading clubs belonged for very different reasons, and for some their motives would have pleased the authorities if reading clubs had been permitted. Even good motives, though, could be dangerous, since at the very least, thinking was requisite, and thinking could lead to discontent; the best citizen, as Kaiser Franz kept harping, was a mindless one. Anton von Spaun wrote to Schober about what he hoped they could accomplish, and directed some of his comments to Schober himself, with the hope that their edifying activities might actually be able to reform Schober:

We must study humanity, and all ages, and what the best people of the past did and thought, and how one thing leads to another, and how one thing follows out of another, so that we can understand clearly and have a positive influence on the people we love, on our brothers. Beauty too influences human hearts powerfully, refreshingly, and upliftingly, and the sounds of music, a madonna by Raphael . . . ; therefore let us too dedicate our lives and flee nothing so much as an excess of destructive passions and the deficiency and emptiness of an indolent spirit.²⁶

Schober could easily have taken offense at this effort to reform him, but his friends had tried to reform him so often that he could ignore it.

Spaun also addressed in his letter the possibility of reading groups having political motivations, but for him that went too far. He did not object to being subversive to the extent that they should meet in an illegal fashion, and that in itself represented a form of defiance, but taking that to the next level of plotting against the system he would not tolerate: "Feeling and thinking—in them is higher existence. From both proceeds action—but what shall we act upon? We cannot depose tyrants, live for the world in death for the Fatherland, we cannot teach wisdom to youth in the columned corridors of Athens, nor struggle on behalf of oppressed innocence—but we can still act and achieve true greatness."²⁷ Spaun said this to Schober for a reason: just as he hoped their high-minded endeavors could jolt Schober out of his indolent and disreputable ways, he felt he had to convince Schober not to get involved in hatching plots or trying to draw the rest of the circle into them. From time to time their group received visits from activists in the Burschenschaft and other anti-government movements, and it clearly made Spaun edgy. Schober on the other hand not only welcomed such things, but he hoped to play a greater activist role himself and draw others into it. Most members of the group appear to have resisted this, with the exception of Schubert, who shared Schober's views entirely, and this sense of combined purpose no doubt strengthened the lifelong bond between them.

With various members of the club traveling from time to time for extended periods, it proved difficult to hold the group together, and this seemed especially true in the absence of Schober. In 1823 Schober left Vienna, which Peter Clive speculates may have been

because, like Schubert, he too had become infected with syphilis.²⁸ Writing to Schober on 30 November 1823, Schubert recounted the sorry state of their reading group: “First of all I must pour out a lament over the condition of our circle. . . . Our circle, as indeed I had expected, has lost its central focus without you. Bruchmann, who has returned from his journey, is no longer the same. He seems to bend to the formalities of the world [conventions], and by that alone he loses his halo, which in my opinion was due only to his determined disregard of all worldly affairs.”²⁹ Bruchmann would do battle with Schober a year later over his sister’s secret engagement to Schober, and for Schubert the seeds had now been sown for Bruchmann’s stand against Schober. Bruchmann had joined conventional Viennese society, and could no longer be of any value in a group that Schubert and Schober saw as resisting the system.

The whole thing had come unstuck, at times being no different than the rest of Vienna, according to Schubert:

True, as a substitute for you and Kupelwieser we received four individuals, namely: the Hungarians Mayer, Hönig, Smetana and Steiger, but the majority of such individuals make the society only more insignificant instead of better. What is the good of a lot of quite ordinary students and officials to us? If Bruchmann is not there, or even ill, we go on for hours under the supreme direction of Mohn hearing nothing but eternal talk about riding, fencing, horses and hounds. If it is to go on like this, I don’t suppose I shall stand it for long among them.³⁰

By the end of March the club had folded, done in by its complete lack of focus, as Schubert informed Kupelwieser, then absent in Rome, on 31 March 1824: “Our society (reading circle), as you probably know already, has done itself to death owing to a reinforcement of that rough chorus of beer-drinkers and sausage-eaters, for its dissolution is due in a couple of days, though I had hardly visited it myself since your departure.”³¹ What insult could sting more than “beer-drinkers and sausage-eaters,” calling them the ultimate Viennese toadies with bodies satisfied and minds blunted, oblivious to the foul political conditions surrounding them. Kupelwieser, like Schober, would know exactly what Schubert meant without it having to be spelled out.

Reading societies proved enormously beneficial for Schubert, not only because they offered a refuge from a mind-numbing mainstream society and gave some hope for change, but because of the literature they read, and here through Schober's influence Schubert discovered works he may otherwise have missed. Presumably some of this literature fell into the category of the thousands of books that the censors had banned, but enterprising members of the circle managed to smuggle it in.

Schubert stood beyond the fringes of respectability in Vienna, and coming to terms with this city proved no easy feat. His Vienna stood as a city of contradictions, full of charm and delights, but with the police always poised to let the ax fall on any group that suggested the slightest hint of subversion. The Emperor tried his best to foster a mind-numbing atmosphere, but he failed to blunt the best wits, who simply took the censors, the police, and their spies as a challenge, sharpening subtleties that otherwise would have lain fallow. Schubert moved in these circles of discontent, and often his vexation showed in unbecoming behavior and in his works. He loved Vienna with a passion—certainly the Vienna of his friends and their haunts—but much about it repulsed him as well. Vienna certainly had an effect on his achievements, both positive and negative, but by no means could the city, nor for that matter the era, set the boundaries for what he could accomplish.

NOTES

1. Donald E. Emerson, *Metternich and the Political Police* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 110.
2. Emerson, *Metternich and the Political Police*, 110–11 and 121.
3. Alice M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 55.
4. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 128–30.
5. Stella Musulin, *Vienna in the Age of Metternich* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1975), 131–32.
6. Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Beethoven*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1961), 18.

-
7. Klaus Epstein, *The Genesis of German Conservatism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), 430.
 8. A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1815–1918* (London: Macmillan, 1941), 31–32.
 9. William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 22–23.
 10. Ernst Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement 1700–1800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 185.
 11. Epstein, *The Genesis*, 432.
 12. Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien*, in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and Vienna* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), 124–5.
 13. Hanson, *Musical Life*, 57.
 14. Hanson, *Musical Life*, 57.
 15. Hanson, *Musical Life*, 58.
 16. Rita Steblin, *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft: Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998) and “Schubert Through the Kaleidoscope—The ‘Unsinnsgesellschaft’ and its Illustrious Members,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 52 (1997): 52–61.
 17. Peter Clive, *Schubert and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 191.
 18. Clive, *Schubert*, 191.
 19. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 86.
 20. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 86.
 21. Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 126. McKay speculates that both Schober and Schubert used opium.
 22. McKay, *Franz Schubert*, 152.
 23. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 110.
 24. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 255.
 25. Deutsch: *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 509.
 26. David Gramit, “The Passion for Friendship’: Music, Cultivation, and Identity in Schubert’s Circle,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 61–62.
 27. Gramit, “The Passion for Friendship,” 61.
 28. Clive, *Schubert and His World*, 191.
 29. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 300.
 30. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 300–01.
 31. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 339.

Chapter Four

Covert Opera

MUSIC AND POLITICS

MUSIC FLOURISHED IN THE FIRST QUARTER of the nineteenth century in Vienna, and a peculiar theory has taken root that relates this directly to political suppression—that the dangers of political thought and the atrophy of philosophy in general forced the Viennese into the safety and sensuality of music, where “revolutionary motifs . . . are less easy to discern than in literature.”¹ Except for music for the theater with lyrics, the censors could do little about music, and gatherings large and small for musical performance or amateur music-making did not arouse too much suspicion, although they still required permission. The theory goes further, taking the retreat from the public realm of political discourse into an inward sphere, and is fueled by remarks such as this one by Franz Grillparzer: “He who has once enjoyed the sweetness of communion with his own self, will not return. Thus he lives in a world of his own making, ungainsaid, ordering all matters, thinking all thoughts according to self-made laws.”² Schubert seems to fit into the mold precisely, a self-contemplator if there ever was one with his more than 600 songs, intimate solo piano pieces, and chamber music, none of which contain any apparent hint of a political agenda. The theory, though, easily crumbles in the face of a little scrutiny; it only works based on an overly simplified view of the disconnection between politics and music, along with a notion of the so-called Biedermeier era as somehow having a more active musical

life than eighteenth-century Vienna. Political dissent can be registered in many ways, some so subtle that few will likely recognize it; such subtle dissent usually depends on irony or satire, or an overtly apolitical stance, something so pronounced—as with the nonsense clubs—that the absence of politics itself becomes political. Club members could rub their hands together gleefully as authorities searched for political subversion and found nothing but inane vignettes left as bait to confound them.

It does not help to look at Schubert and the rich musical life of his time in isolation; during the previous half century or more Vienna had been obsessed with music, making it the logical place for Beethoven to come in 1792, to inspire Mozart to break the shackles of patronage in Salzburg in 1781, or for Haydn to regret every hour of absence from Vienna from the middle of the eighteenth century onward. It attracted all the best opera composers, including Gluck and Salieri; the best symphonists such as Wagenseil, Vanhal, and Dittersdorf; and it overflowed with musical salons such as the one at the home of Gottfried van Swieten, as well as the most talented salon pianists to be found, such as Haydn's friend Marianne von Genzinger. Schubert may have discovered ways of appealing to the music-mad inhabitants of his home city, but he did not find a Vienna more obsessed with music than the one Mozart or Haydn knew, from the highest aristocracy able to afford lavish musical soirées to the lowliest inns with their street fiddlers and guitarists. Regardless of political attitudes, from the austerity of Maria Theresa, through the reforms of her son Joseph, to the tightening of the vice at the end of Joseph's reign because of Jacobins hiding behind every lamp post, or through the stultifying regime of Franz, music remained a constant mania. Music did not fill some sort of gap left by a police state; it simply did not go away, and in fact it never would.

Neither does it help to look at music as some sort of emotional or personal domain devoid of politics. Music, like any other art form, refuses to be apolitical, and the generation before Schubert took that very seriously. As the Enlightenment swept through Europe, music became one of its strongest instruments of support, from the operas of Handel earlier in the eighteenth century to the symphonies of Haydn in the latter half. Opera can make its position entirely clear, as Handel does with texts from mythology or antiquity, underlying moral truths and acts of valor, but symphonies—purely instrumental works—add

another dimension, ruling out the possibility of music standing by as some sort of unintelligible or isolated phenomenon unto itself. The eighteenth century undervalued instrumental music, but Haydn changed that with symphonies entirely capable of dealing with moral issues through a musical narrative process of dramatic contrast or even conflict, allowing enlightened principles such as notions of tolerance to emerge.³ Beethoven may have given the impression of being disappointed to have Haydn as his teacher instead of Mozart, but this belies what he actually learned, not only from Haydn but from Christian Gottlob Neeffe in Bonn, both of whom regarded Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, the leading German mid-century advocate of the Enlightenment, as their hero (Neeffe actually studied with Gellert in Leipzig). Beethoven learned quickly that a symphony could be a powerful tool of intelligibility for political, philosophical, spiritual, or cultural purposes, and from early on he treated his symphonies that way. Since the nature of that intelligibility does not translate especially well into words, he could bring forward the most striking political statement with his *Eroica* Symphony and entirely escape the censure of the authorities who would not have known how to pin it down unless it went so far as to quote the Marseillaise (which Schumann did—more than once, with repercussions—a few decades later). Certainly during Schubert's time political music abounded from the irascible darling of Vienna; noblemen who revered Beethoven apparently did not recognize that he would help to destroy the inequality that held them in their elevated place.

As a foreigner in Vienna from Bonn, Beethoven did not hesitate to cut through what he perceived as the Austrian nonsense with a musical language that did not have to be overly subtle—especially since those who could give him a hard time would be unlikely to understand it. Native Austrian artists, while every bit as exasperated as Beethoven by an unjust society, went further out of their way to slip things by the authorities, working with texts or music so subtly ironic, satirical, or critical that they ran the danger of not being understood by anyone. Mozart took this to an extraordinary level, building it into every one of his operas from *Idomeneo* onward, and in fact intensifying it during the Jacobin scare and the rise to power of the Minister of Police, Count Pergen, although with such subtlety that few would catch the underlying subversion. Vienna would not see anything on the stage comparable to Mozart's feat until Johann Nestroy pulled it

off in the early 1830s, shortly after Schubert's death, getting dramas that bristled with devastating criticism past the censors. Nestroy managed it with methods similar to Mozart's, giving happy conventional endings that appear to restore the order demolished early in the play, reinstating the symmetry that had previously given way to chaos, extolling patriarchy, absolute rule, religious values, and morality.⁴ No one should believe it for a moment, and probably no one fell for the ruse as much as the censors, who, reared on Gellert and Shaftesbury, held tenaciously to the principle, despite it being stretched to an absurd length, that disruption could be used to sweeten the victory of order.

DISCONTENT

The nasty business of being arrested with Senn in March 1820 no doubt made Schubert's blood boil. Never had things in Vienna been so dismal, as Metternich rammed law and order down the empire's throat at any cost, but Schubert and his friends knew that most citizens would happily sacrifice their liberty to combat the nefarious forces of possible revolution in their fair city. The oppressive "system" had little chance of vanishing, and so one had to learn how to live with it, despite the hassles of censorship, the constant spying, and the impossibility of speaking freely—having to look over one's shoulder constantly, playing cloak and dagger games with Sedlnitsky's enforcers. The system tried to make good citizens of everyone, and being a good citizen meant blind obedience to authority, having no interesting or original thoughts, changing nothing, and not only leading tediously conventional lives but defending that as the only way to live. Vienna of course has always been bursting with creative energy, verve that its city fathers and most of the citizenry have not welcomed. Some of its artists, writers, and intellectuals had given up in frustration, sending themselves into self-imposed exile, but others simply could not imagine living elsewhere, and developed a subtlety in dealing with their oppressors, outwitting them with such finesse that few have comprehended their strategies.

The authorities expected good citizens to adhere to conventional morals, find good employment, get married and raise children with conventional morals, refrain from excesses of drink or other vices, and

avoid conversations about anything meaningful (especially politics). They should go to mass regularly, show proper respect for priests, the police, government officials, or anyone else in authority, and refrain from joining secret societies or even reading clubs. Any society that tries to enforce excessively severe strictures on its people will only succeed in creating ample opportunity for the opposite, as happened during Prohibition in the United States. Some may frown upon drunken and disorderly conduct, but that only encourages taverns, inns, and other establishments to flourish, and people will be drunk and disorderly. This certainly happened in Metternich's Vienna. If sexual activity must be restricted to marriage for purposes of procreation, and any hint of sexuality removed from the stage or literature, then the sex industry will move underground and prostitution will burgeon, as it did in Metternich's Vienna, to some extent with a blind eye from officials. If politics could be discussed only at the risk of arrest, then clever people would find ingenious ways of doing it, even baiting officials whom they assumed, as Senn did, would be too stupid to discover their cleverness.

Metternich's system had the effect of creating an underclass of people who would commit themselves to undermining the regime, living in a way entirely contrary to the expected norms, perhaps even finding riskier ways of being subversive. In fact, it could be excessively difficult to distinguish the subversive citizens from the good, as, for example, the ranks of the censors swelled with former Burschenschaft students or at least students with reform inclinations, such as Schubert's friend Mayrhofer, who never quite lost those tendencies. Similarly the booming business of the taverns and brothels could not have been kept afloat merely by a social subclass of louts. It appears that many upright, religious, married men frequented the brothels, and abstinence from drink was not one of the inclinations of the Viennese. Metternich himself had reformist tendencies from his student days, and under circumstances different from those of the time would undoubtedly have pushed certain reforms. He had access to and read literature not available to anyone else in the land. Even Sedlnitsky, in charge of the police and censorship, had come to Vienna in 1815 expecting to be censured for being lax in his duties, but instead found himself promoted to the position so vilified in the pamphlets of 1848. One suspects that virtually everyone but Kaiser Franz lived a double

life, and if he hadn't been so preoccupied with paper work perhaps he too may have found a vice.

For Schubert and his friends secret societies proved to be not only congenial ways of meeting, but it appears these societies also cultivated subversion by being apolitical, becoming political by their strict avoidance of anything political. Even the Schubertiads, the gatherings in the homes of friends in which Schubert's music—especially songs—was performed, may also have been politically motivated. More than musical performances happened at these gatherings, and music may have provided a cover for the discussions that went on. Ernst Hilmar has explored this, suggesting even that the orchestras Schubert met with regularly until 1820 possibly dissolved for political reasons. Hilmar admits that it may be misleading to associate the term *Schubertiad* with the gathering of people around Schubert to provide a forum for political purposes, but he concedes that the term “like-minded” people “smelled of sedition.” He sets the possibility up for us: “One thinks of the Schubertiads as calm and peaceable affairs. As a consequence they conform remarkably well to the accepted stereotype of Biedermeier music-making in the home: unpretentious sociability without politics, against the politically explosive background.”⁵ Documents from the time give no confirmation of anything subversive, but “the very absence of testimony . . . might be an eloquent silence. One cannot help wondering whether members of the circle very pointedly avoided uttering critical political remarks.” They even avoided critical discussion of music, but this could give the impression “of dancing on top of a volcano.” If Hilmar is right, then the term “Schubertiad” appears to be well chosen, since Schubert himself remained one of the staunchest opponents of the regime throughout his life.

Despite the danger in belonging to reading clubs and nonsense societies or in organizing Schubertiads, these things remained a sport for some, a form of police baiting, that the likes of Schubert, Schober, Kupelwieser, and Schwind thoroughly enjoyed. Yet if they seriously opposed the regime, they would have to go beyond these antics or their various forms of antisocial behavior. After all, between Schubert and Schober there lay an enormous amount of talent in music and literature, talent that surely could be harnessed for political purposes; the two had brilliantly subtle minds, and the intelligence to know



An Evening at Baron Spaun's, by Moritz von Schwind, n.d. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

how to get away with political subterfuge. They spent large amounts of time with each other since they met in 1815, living together at Schober's home where they could talk as freely as they wished in private, or meeting in other ways, and it would be hard to imagine they did not talk about such things. Bringing their two talents together started almost as soon as they met, with Schubert setting a text by Schober to music as early as 1815, and then more in 1816 and 1817, including "An die Musik" ("To Music") in 1817.

THE COLLABORATION WITH SCHOBER

Schubert and Schober's relationship veered dramatically in a new direction in 1821 when they hatched what they must have considered their most brilliant plot. As usual they spent much time together that year, sometimes joined by Schober's cousin Franz Derffel, as well as Kupelwieser, Gahy (Schubert's favorite duo piano partner), and Zechentner, another one of the conspirators at Senn's arrest—in short, some of the most politically radical members of the circle. In July Schubert and Schober went back to Atzenbrugg once again to enjoy

the annual three-day house party. During this time Schubert worked on, among other things, a symphony in E, one of a number he would not complete during these years; work on that and all else ceased when he and Schober decided to take the drastic step of leaving Vienna for about a month to work together on an opera.⁶ Schubert had had some moderate success with opera just the year before, because of the support from Michael Vogl, to whom Schober had introduced him in 1817. At this time Vogl still had clout with the Kärntnertor Theater because of his distinguished performing career there as a baritone, and at his instigation the theater commissioned Schubert to write an opera, *Die Zwillingsbrüder*, a comedy about twins, in which Vogl would play both twins. The opera ran for six performances, closing when the season ended for the summer, and gave Schubert some good publicity. The theater did not revive it in the fall, but it led to another commission, a melodrama (a work with spoken dialogue accompanied



The Fall, a Charade Played by the “Schubertians” in Atzenbrugg Castle, by Leopold Kupelwieser, 1821. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

by orchestral music), *Die Zauberharfe*, from the Theater an der Wien. The reviews may not have all been favorable, but Schubert was now on a roll with opera as audiences and directors knew his name as a composer for the theater.

With this flush of success he had to strike again soon, and he looked with some urgency for the right project. In October of 1820 he tried his luck with a libretto by J. P. Neumann called *Sakuntala*, but it bogged down and he completed sketches for the first two acts only. In the spring of 1821 he had better luck, adding a duet and aria to Herold's *Das Zauberglöckchen*, again at the request of the Kärntnertor Theater, and this went on the stage in June. In July he visited Atzenbrugg with Schober, and it may well have been then or shortly thereafter that they came up with the scheme that would drive both of them almost to distraction with excitement; they left Vienna in September to find seclusion to throw themselves into it without being disturbed. Early in September they returned to Atzenbrugg for a few days, and then continued on to the quiet town of St. Pölten, where Schober had a relative through his mother, the local bishop. Staying with the bishop would have caused distractions of the type they did not want, so instead they stayed, it appears, at an inn, the Three Crowns in the town square, in a room that Schober described to Josef von Spaun as "particularly snug: the twin beds, a sofa next to the warm stove, and a fortepiano make it all very domestic and cosy."⁷ Despite the distractions of balls and concerts, they worked hard, "especially Schubert, who has [as of 4 November] done nearly two acts, while I am on the last. . . . In the evenings we always compared notes on what we had done during the day, then sent for beer, smoked our pipes and read, or else Sophie and Nettel [Schober's sister and mother] came across and there was singing."

Why all this excitement about an opera?—surely not merely for Schubert to get another opera on the stage. The pleasure of the two of them doing this together in an intense collaboration with few distractions, working hard on it every day and meeting regularly to compare notes, most certainly had a special appeal for these two closest of friends. Something else appeared to be happening. They had hoped Kupelwieser could join them in St. Pölten; aside from themselves, he was the most politically motivated of their circle of friends. Of course they wanted to write an opera that would be a success, but it seems

they got the idea that their opera could serve a political purpose, carrying a message that, if understood, could do some serious feather-ruffling in the political arena. An opera, they knew well, would be scrutinized in the extreme by the censors, and it could contain absolutely nothing that would give away its political agenda. The two of them felt more than up for the task, and in fact meeting the challenge became a game—a much more sophisticated one than belonging to a nonsense society—a game of chess that had to be played with the skill of grand masters. Both libretto and music would share equal roles in arriving at the checkmate. A comment from Schubert's lost diary of 1824, jotted down at 2:00 in the morning, may be historically misguided, but it gives a clue about what he believed could be achieved politically with music: "Envable Nero! You were strong enough to destroy a corrupt people with the sound of stringed instruments and with song!"⁸

ALFONSO UND ESTRELLA

Keenly aware of the operatic scene in Vienna, Schubert complained much about the inroads made by Rossini, although Rossini's works received no more performances than those of some German composers, including Mozart and Josef Weigl, Salieri's successor as court composer. As not only court composer but also director of music for the court theater, Weigl had a position of extraordinary strength, and Schubert had mixed feelings about him. The first operas Schubert ever heard were Weigl's *Das Waisenhaus* (*The Orphanage*) and *Die Schweizerfamilie* (*The Swiss Family*); Josef von Spaun took the fifteen-year-old Schubert to see them, and they both made a deep impression on him, especially the latter.⁹ These operas ran frequently in Vienna, easily eclipsing any of Rossini's operas. When Schubert wrote his opera *Die Zwillingbrüder* on a commission, it took far too long for the impatient composer to get it staged, and at one point in 1819 he complained in exasperation that "in spite of Vogl it is difficult to outwit such *canaille* [scoundrels] as Weigl, Treitschke [the librettist], &c.—That is why instead of my operetta they give other rot, enough to make your hair stand on end."¹⁰ Despite this comment, Schubert respected Weigl, who had not only studied with his own teacher, Salieri, but even with Mozart, and in 1827, when Weigl received the appointment of court

vice-Kapellmeister, a position for which Schubert had also applied, he conceded, according to his brother Ferdinand, "since so worthy a man as Weigl has received it, I shall have to rest content."¹¹

With Weigl all the rage, and in a position to make or break an operatic success, Schubert and Schober may well have decided to use Weigl as the model for their opera *Alfonso und Estrella*, and in fact Schubert had already done this to some degree in earlier operas, certainly in *Die Zwillingsbrüder*, which Weigl himself had conducted. Weigl had perfected an operatic style in both his Italian and German operas that was offensive to no one; a work such as *Die Schweizerfamilie* kept things tuneful and simple, with music as homely as the family it portrays. In a grand opera such as *Alfonso und Estrella* this would result in an absurdity, and Schubert appears to have embraced the absurdity wholeheartedly, with the exception of one or two numbers written in a style that he thought would appeal to the taste of the audience. He did not compose it for posterity, but rather for the moment, for success, and more importantly, as the means of conveying a message in a way that few would suspect, since it would be underwhelmed by banality.

The task fell to Schober in this collaboration to come up with a libretto sufficiently inane so as not to arouse any suspicion, but at the same time to embed the message in a way that some might recognize it, although perhaps only those who were alerted to the possibility might do so. The libretto would not be one that Schober would write on his own and hand over when completed; Schober and Schubert resided together during virtually all of the time that Schober worked on the plot, so Schubert could make his suggestions at every step along the way, and these suggestions must have gone well beyond what was necessary for a musical setting. Theatrical plots should not include conspirators, but that seems not to have prevented them from including them. Similarly, plots should not involve monarchs being overthrown, but again that did not stop them. Since this opera had not been commissioned, the censors would not get involved until production became a possibility, so the authors took their chances on these plot issues, hoping that when the time came they might be able to slip them through. By setting the story in eighth-century Spain they perhaps thought that the distance of 1,000 years from the present would be sufficient to discourage the censors from making connections with current political figures or Kaiser Franz.

The plot, though, lends itself to those kinds of connections and comparisons, although not to the extent that any particular figure leaps out as one of their contemporaries. In fact, the characters need not necessarily represent actual persons, but can be more indirectly associated with someone's political ideals or attitudes, or perhaps a character could represent an entire segment of society. What political changes did the intelligentsia want to make? The model for reform was not something that we in the twenty-first century would expect, nor was it even something that the revolutionaries of 1848 would have considered worthy of revolt or sacrificing one's life. Something much more modest would do, with stronger domestic than national (the whole Empire) implications, and in 1821 the intelligentsia's goal did not seem unrealistic, since it had existed only a few decades earlier. They longed for the good old days of the early reign of Joseph II, or the last years of Maria Theresa, when Joseph already effectively ruled, a time of reform in the Empire, when older repressive measures disappeared by edict and the spirit of the Enlightenment filled the air. Joseph himself had to clamp down in the late 1780s, when the threat of the Jacobins seemed real and the events of France sent shivers up the spine of the rest of the world, especially considering what happened to Joseph's sister Marie Antoinette.

For a few years, though, the Habsburg empire seemed on the verge of joining some other parts of Europe in becoming a less repressive society, and for intellectuals in the first decade of the nineteenth century the allure of Josephinism never lost its strength. They could forgive Joseph for what happened during the last two or three years of his reign, and perhaps even Leopold II during his mere two years in power, when he reinstated the dreaded Minister of Police, Pergen, to a position of authority in the aftermath of the French Revolution; but they could not excuse Franz's refusal to back down, turning the screws tighter and tighter. In fact, they did not necessarily deem the inept Franz to be the real culprit; that honor went to Metternich, who consolidated his power more and more every year, completely eclipsing Franz in his ruthless attack on the intelligentsia, and the fact that originally he had been one of them made it all the worse. The commoner Metternich rose quickly as Franz's right hand man; he became a prince in 1813, showed brilliant political adroitness in manipulating the other heads of state during the Congress of Vienna

in 1815, strengthened the role of the secret police in each succeeding year, and drew special notice in 1821 when he became head of the *Haus- Hof- und Staatskanzlei* (the Chancery).¹² It would be another three years until he became Chancellor of State, a position that had not existed since the death of Wenzel Kaunitz, but by 1821 no one had any illusions about his stranglehold on power, and it undoubtedly appeared to many that he had reached his position of supreme power by taking advantage of a monarch who had neither the intelligence nor the genuine will to rule. Because of Metternich and his henchmen such as Sedlnitzky, the Empire had sunk to a new low as a police state, with any freedom of speech stifled, whether in literature, newspapers, or public gatherings. Already at the beginning of the century things were bad, as Johann Gottfried Seume reported in 1802 after he passed through Vienna: "You can visit public places for months without hearing a single word about politics, so strict is the watch maintained over orthodoxy in both state and church. In all the coffee-houses there reigns such a reverent silence that you might think high mass was being celebrated, when no one dares to breathe."¹³ By 1821 things had become much worse.

The plot of *Alfonso und Estrella*, clandestinely disguised as a typically mindless Biedermeier story, takes on these issues. The characters are as follows: Mauregato, King of Leon (baritone); Estrella, his daughter (soprano); Adolfo, his military chief (bass-baritone); Froila,¹⁴ former King of Leon, usurped by Mauregato and living in exile (baritone); Alfonso, Froila's son (tenor); other solo voices, including Mauregato's bodyguard, a girl, and a youth; and choruses of peasants, courtiers, hunters, soldiers, servants, and conspirators.

In Act 1, Scene 1, we meet the good former king of Leon, Froila, who has lived in exile for twenty years with his son Alfonso and followers. Alfonso feels restless in their pastoral setting, and his father asks him to be patient, since Alfonso will soon be required to challenge the cruel tyrant who usurped Froila's throne (although Alfonso knows nothing of his own royal status). Froila gives his son a neck chain, the Chain of Eurich. Scene 2 shifts to the castle of King Mauregato, where Adolfo, Mauregato's military chief, enters, having beaten the Moors in battle. As his reward, he asks for the hand of Estrella, hoping to use this marriage to advance to the throne himself, but when she refuses he threatens to take her by force. Mauregato temporarily

gets his daughter off the hook by claiming she can marry only the one who brings the Chain of Eurich to Leon, and Adolfo fumes that he will be avenged.

Act 2, Scene 1, begins with Froila singing an old ballad to his son about the “cloud maiden” who entices a young man to his death. Alfonso wanders off and by chance meets Estrella, who has strayed from her hunting companions and is lost. Under the influence of the enchanting ballad, Alfonso now believes the image of the beautiful cloud maiden has materialized; he falls in love with Estrella at first sight, gives her the Chain of Eurich, and then guides her to her home. In Scene 2 Adolfo cleverly maneuvers his conspiratorial followers into agreeing to his plan to overthrow Mauregato. Scene 3 returns to Mauregato’s castle, and his weakness shows when he learns his daughter has been lost. She returns and explains how she received the Chain, but news of Adolfo’s menacing approach interrupts the happy moment.

In Act 3, Scene 1, Adolfo leads his rebels onward and captures Estrella, now separated from her father. Again she refuses his advances, and Alfonso arrives just in time to prevent Adolfo from killing her on the spot as he takes Adolfo captive. In their happy reunion, Estrella tells Alfonso of her royal background, but undeterred by his presumed commoner status, Alfonso resolves to show himself worthy by rescuing her father’s kingdom. When he blows his ceremonial horn, hunters as well as Froila come in support, and while Alfonso goes to the rescue Froila keeps an eye on Estrella. Scene 2 shifts to Mauregato, who now believes he has lost everything. Froila overhears him and the two reconcile their differences, on the condition that Mauregato give up the throne. This he does willingly, and Froila passes the crown to his son, who, now aware of his princely status, will reign married to Estrella. They forgive the villain Adolfo, who repents, and the opera ends with noisy celebrations.¹⁵

In this Spanish allegory the characters take their places in contemporary Vienna: the inept King Mauregato could be Kaiser Franz, not a usurper by force, but certainly according to his critics, in spirit. Adolfo is Metternich, always manipulating, looking to take control, elevating himself to higher positions and ultimately to the very top. Froila is the spirit of Joseph II, whose enlightened ideas have been exiled, although by more than twenty years; even Mauregato thinks he has seen a ghost when the two of them meet in the final act, and that ghost represents

the reforms of Joseph. Froila's son Alfonso is a future monarch who will return the Empire to decency and peace, possible only for someone unaware of his immediate Habsburg past. He also, as a youth, has the spirit of students and the restlessness of the intelligentsia; he acts decisively without knowledge of his royalty, and he hopes to win Estrella by the rightness of his deeds. Estrella represents the people who seek truth, justice, and compassion, perhaps a "veritas" figure from a painting by Schubert's and Schober's beloved Raphael. The tyrant Adolfo assumes he deserves her love, but she can see through his treachery, and he can only hope to take her by brute force. With the various choruses, like their soloist counterparts, decay has set in among the people at court—the courtiers, conspirators, and soldiers—although the soldiers can be persuaded to follow the right course. Overthrowing the tyrant requires the loyal support of the simple folk, especially peasants and hunters.

In most operas the young lovers are the focus of attention, and while they get special treatment here, the oldest character becomes the real star of the work, the hope for the future lying in the achievement of the past as represented by the Josephinian Froila. The special treatment for Froila became Schubert's responsibility, and among his lofty qualities, he, like Schubert himself, is a singer, identified early in the opera as such. Much of the music in this opera does not reach a level higher than the banality of what audiences would expect from their favorites Konradin Kreutzer, Adalbert Gyrowetz, or Weigl, and Schubert appears to imitate their styles, for example, in the love duet between Alfonso and Estrella when they first meet and love blossoms. This could just as easily come from Weigl's *Schweizerfamilie*, as the music never aspires to any of the ecstatic heights that he so often probes in his songs. Rossini was the other darling of the audience at this time, and Schubert peppered the opera with Rossini-isms, in his rhythmic treatment of the villain Adolfo, the chorus of conspirators, even for Alfonso, and numerous other points.¹⁶ He gives most of the characters little musical character, and in choruses he can be repetitive. These "defects" have always been held against Schubert, even by myself in the past, and used to explain his operatic failure; perhaps we have missed the point. For some of the characters, the mediocrity of the music may also adumbrate the mediocrity of the character, for example for Mauregato's ineptness and Adolfo's blustering rages.

Froila provides the notable exception to all this banality. He always has a musical sophistication exceeding the others, starting right at his first appearance in the second musical number of Act 1; here Schubert begins with nostalgia, and follows this with a briefly violent B section in which all peace vanishes, before moving on to something more carefree but nevertheless with an edge to it. Later in the opera when Froila reconciles with Mauregato, this has some emotional impact because of the quality of Froila's music. But nothing hits us with the impact of the beginning of Act 2, as Alfonso asks his father to sing the old ballad of the "cloud Maiden," recognizing his father's superior singing ability to convey the story. Froila obliges, and Schubert sets his singing of the ballad apart in a special way, using a harp in the accompaniment as though to give Froila the lyre of Orpheus. The quality of the music here rises to a height that nothing else in the opera approaches, paralleling the best of what Schubert does with song, making it clear that if he had wished the rest of the opera to reach such heights he could have done it; very simply, he did not wish to do so. In this ballad a hunter encounters the most beautiful girl he has ever seen, and she entices him to follow her, not unlike the enticements of the Erlking to the boy in his father's arms in "Erlkönig." The hunter follows her up the craggy path past deep gorges, and at the moment he starts to follow, Schubert moves into a new and more glorious melody, in fact the one he would use six years later in "Täuschung" ("Delusion") from *Winterreise*. They reach a splendid palace at the summit, and the hunter, believing the ecstatic moment has come, tries to hold her in his arms. She dissolves into the mist, as does the palace, and the black night, taking possession of his desperate mind, induces him to plunge to his death from the steep heights. In this final section Schubert returns to the original material, and at the end, again like "Erlkönig," we hear of his death with accompanied recitative.

With the unusually fine music used for this ballad one suspects that the text may also be especially important, and to be sure it rises to a higher poetic level than most of the libretto. The text may also seem vaguely familiar, with touches of the "Lorelei" or some other similar piece of lore, and in fact a likely source exists not only for the ballad but the rest of the libretto, certainly not in any exact form but instead as an adaptation. It appears that Schubert and Schober took with them to St. Pölten a copy of *The Poems of Ossian*, most likely

the free imitation of James MacPherson's epic poems by Edmond, Freiherr von Harold, *Neu-entdeckte Gedichte Ossians* (*Ossian's Newly Discovered Poems*), which Schubert has used already in 1815 for his song "Das Mädchen von Inistore." Schubert adapted the text for this song from "Fingal Book I" from the Ossian poems; for material for the opera he and Schober may have moved ahead to "Fingal Book III," freely borrowing and adapting, of course changing names, and perhaps looking to books after Book III for some refinements.¹⁷ The craggy, misty, forested setting of the opera relates exactly to *Ossian*, and not only do other parallels in characters and plot exist, but we also have a strong sense of music from this source, especially singing and use of the harp.

The Poems of Ossian had taken German-speaking lands by storm in the late eighteenth century, not only because of Harold's translations, but also through those of Herder and Goethe. While these poems did not need anyone to popularize them, Goethe nevertheless succeeded in doing so. He actually used *Ossian* in part to set the tone for his novel *Sorrows of Young Werther*. On more than one occasion Goethe allows Werther to quote *Ossian*, using passages that highlight some of the predominating features of the source, especially the sense of nostalgia about a lost past and a world filled with political intrigue.

If the plot of *Alfonso und Estrella* seems convoluted, it may be because it attempts to adapt the even more convoluted stories of *Ossian*. Each character in the opera has a counterpart in "Fingal Book III," although some may be slightly less clear than others: Alfonso is Fingal; Mauregato is King Starno; Estrella is the daughter of the king, Agandecca; and Adolfo is Cuchullin, the king's military commander who later is killed by Fingal (misspelled as Cuthullin in "Das Mädchen von Inistore"). In the father/son relationship between Froila and Alfonso, a reversal occurs: Fingal's father is Comhal, while Fingal's son is Ossian, a singer and poet; in *Alfonso und Estrella*, Froila is the singer and character of central importance, so he is Ossian. In Book III we learn that Starno, who regards Fingal as his enemy, uses his daughter Agandecca to lure Fingal into a trap of pursuing wild boars, whereupon he will be killed by Starno's warriors. In Starno's words, "He that is the fairest among his thousands, tell him I give him my daughter, the loveliest maid that ever heaved a breast of snow. Her arms are white as the foam of my waves. Her soul is generous and

mild. Let him come with his bravest heroes to the daughter of the secret hall.”¹⁸ Agandecca “came in all her beauty, like the moon from the cloud of the east.—Loveliness was around her as light. Her steps were like the music of songs. She saw the youth and loved him. He was the stolen sigh of her soul. Her blue eyes rolled on him in secret: and she blest the chief of Morven.” Starno murders her when the plot to entrap Fingal fails, and she is seen from time to time as a ghost; “her tomb ascends on Ardden, and the sea roars round the dark dwelling of Agandecca” in the Isle of Mist. The bard has presented this as a song: “blessed be her soul . . . and blessed be the mouth of the song”;¹⁹ the bard likes to accompany his singing with a harp.

In the opera, Estrella and the cloud maiden blend into one as Alfonso moves from the ballad sung about her by his father to meeting the real Estrella; in his words, “What the song sang bravely of, I see has come true here.” In Ossian she is one and the same, the seductress through her father’s manipulation, “the cloud of the east,” and the beautiful daughter who falls in love with the handsome youth. The ballad captures the essence of Ossian, that which Alfonso never tires of hearing, and that essence had been aptly recognized by William Hazlitt: “Ossian is the decay and old age of poetry. He lives only in the recollection and regret of the past. There is one impression that he conveys more entirely than all other poets, namely the sense of privation, the loss of all things, of friends, of good name, of country—he is even without God in the world.”²⁰ Schubert and Schober had not read Hazlitt’s critique, but they could sense this fusion of poetry and politics for themselves. In the ballad they together brought this fusion startlingly alive, in both poetry and song finding the longing so evident in Schubert’s best songs and bringing the notion of *Sehnsucht*—happiness is where you are not—into the political realm, giving a sense that the glorious memory of Joseph in all probability could no longer be recovered. After the ballad they returned to the more banal language of the contemporary theater, projecting the success of Alfonso and Froila to a happy ending, but the essence of the work lay at its center, in the ballad and the sad realization that nothing in fact would change.

Schubert and Schober had boundless enthusiasm for this opera, and great hopes for it going into production. On 2 November, Schubert wrote to Josef von Spaun that “Schober’s opera has already progressed as far as the third act, and I do wish you could be pres-

ent at its production. We have great hopes for it.—The Kärntnertor and Wieden Theatres are actually leased to Barbaja, and he takes them over in December.”²¹ They assumed Domenico Barbaja would be more inclined to produce German opera, but regardless of him, they would need Vogl’s support to get it staged, and Schubert had designed the part of Froila for him. By now Schubert and Vogl had a close friendship, and Schubert no doubt felt he could confide in Vogl, despite the fact that Vogl had developed a strong distaste for Schober. In presenting the work to Vogl, Schubert may very well have talked about an underlying political agenda, since Vogl reacted against the opera far too strongly to account for considerations of music and text. Writing to his wife in July 1822, Anton von Spaun put the matter into perspective: “Vogl also says Schober’s opera is bad and a perfect failure, and that altogether Schubert is quite on the wrong road.”²² It’s one thing not to like a work, but quite another to say it’s on the wrong track. As an opera, it could have certainly held its own with Weigl’s, whether or not it had the appeal of Weber’s *Der Freischütz*; the part for Froila, better than the others, would surely have appealed to Vogl, and certainly surpassed the dual parts in *Die Zwillingbrüder*. The “wrong road” must have referred to something else, and this may well have been its appeal to politics, which the older Vogl, a successful man, found objectionable.

The opera was not performed until three decades later, in an act of great veneration for Schubert by Franz Liszt in Dresden, and Sonnleithner reported that “it did not achieve more than a succès d’estime [praise from the critics].”²³ Liszt, now light years removed from the political climate of Vienna in 1821, could see nothing of interest in the libretto, and made this clear to the publisher Breitkopf und Härtel in 1850: “As regards Schubert’s opera, ‘Alfonso und Estrella’, a recent experience has entirely confirmed the opinion which I formed last spring, during the first piano rehearsals; namely, that Schubert’s delicate and interesting score is crushed by the weight of the *libretto*! Nevertheless, I do not despair of giving a successful performance of the work—but it seems to me that such success is only possible on one condition: that another libretto be adapted to Schubert’s music.”²⁴ Liszt’s plan to replace the libretto did not materialize. Schober, near the end of his life, seemed to have recanted the libretto, writing to Schubert’s nephew Heinrich in 1876 about the unfortunate moment

of their collaboration on *Alfonso*. Despite praise for the text by leading writers such as Friedrich von Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, and Matthäus von Collin, Schober nevertheless called the libretto “a miserable, still-born, bungling piece of work that even so great a genius as Schubert was not able to bring it to life.”²⁵ Times had changed, youthful enthusiasm had waned, and political attitudes had been blunted. The era of Joseph now lay a century in the past, and Ossianic regret had been replaced in Schober’s memory by a very different image of Schubert, his dearest friend from half a century ago.

NOTES

1. Waltrand Heindl, “People, Class Structure and Society,” in *Schubert’s Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 53.
2. Stella Musulin, *Vienna in the Age of Metternich* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1975), 247.
3. David Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
4. Musulin, *Vienna in the Age of Metternich*, 261.
5. Ernst Hilmar, *Franz Schubert in His Time*, trans. Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, Ore.: Amadeus Press, 1988), 27–30.
6. Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 117.
7. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 195.
8. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert’s Letters and Other Writings*, trans. Venetia Savile (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 77.
9. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 21.
10. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 117.
11. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 37.
12. C. A. MacCartney, *The House of Austria: The Later Phase 1790–1918* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978), 47–48.
13. Ernst Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement 1700–1800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 184.
14. I follow Elizabeth Norman McKay on the use of the name *Froila* instead of the often-used *Troila*. See her *Franz Schubert’s Music for the Theatre* (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 1991), 213.

15. For a more complete synopsis, see McKay's *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, 213–15.

16. McKay, *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*, 220–26.

17. Till Gerrit Waidelich refers to Ossian in *Franz Schubert: Alfonso und Estrella* (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 1991), 64, 233, and 235, but does not develop the connection.

18. Howard Gaskill, ed., *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 73–74.

19. Gaskill, *The Poems of Ossian*, 74.

20. William Hazlitt, introduction to *The Poems of Ossian*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), vi.

21. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 194.

22. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 230.

23. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 119.

24. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 423.

25. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 208.

Chapter Five

Songs, Symphonies, and Beethoven's Long Shadow

AT EVERY POINT IN HIS LIFE SCHUBERT wrote songs, and with his staggering output of over 600, he defined his own musical, personal, and spiritual essence, placing the songs at the heart of all that he accomplished. His approach to song writing has little in common with that of Haydn and Mozart, who did not have much commitment to song other than as a venue for publication. He surely admired Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte* ("To the Distant Beloved") and other individual songs, but Beethoven wrote songs only sporadically, perhaps imbuing some with personal significance, but not in any consistent way. Schubert knew the works of Reichardt, Zelter, and Zumsteeg well, and admired Zumsteeg especially, whose *scena* style that combined lyrical passages and recitative, gave Schubert ideas early in his life about how to make songs dramatic, but otherwise these composers had little to offer him.

Song for Schubert was not an extension of the *empfindsamer Stil*—the style of feeling and emotions filled with emotional devices designed to tug at the heartstrings—of the middle of the eighteenth century. With his songs he found his most personal and intimate mode of expression, although this is not to say that all his songs succeeded in this. He wrote his songs much more for himself than anyone else, and publication of the early ones did not concern him. When friends such as Spaun or Sonnleithner approached publishers with them, probably not only shyness or modesty accounted for the composer's lukewarm involvement with these attempts. Many of the songs were so personal

that he probably could not imagine them as consumer products, or for that matter as personal expressions he would wish to share with the rest of the world. That sense of sharing belonged to a much more circumscribed circle, although in time he overcame this reservation and sought publication.

Some comments in his letters or other writings such as diaries give a sense of how this personal nature of song may have worked for Schubert, although these writings can at times be a little deceptive. When he writes of his state of mind, his suicidal tendencies, or his general feeling of melancholy, we must be aware of the literary conventions and allusions, regardless of how true these outpourings may be. Long before contracting syphilis, probably late in 1822, Schubert struggled with bouts of depression, which more often than not he called "melancholy." This could be combated in a number of ways, not the least of which was drinking evenings away with friends, but that hardly provided the solution. As early as 1816 he addressed the matter, writing in his diary that "happy moments relieve the sadness of life," and "man bears misfortune without complaining, and finds it thereby the harder to bear."¹ In his allegorical story "My Dream" of 1822, written before he had syphilis, he shows what the ultimate solution may be: "Through long, long years I sang my songs. But when I wished to sing of love it turned to sorrow, and when I wanted to sing of sorrow it was transformed for me into love. So was I divided between love and sorrow."² This should not be detached from the allegory that it accompanies, and "song" here should not be taken literally as the composer's song; in this case song denotes something much more broadly expressive.

A couple of years later he returned to this theme, for example in his diary entry of 25 March 1824: "Sorrow sharpens the understanding and strengthens the character, whereas happiness seldom troubles about the former, and only makes for weakness or frivolity in the latter."³ Two days later in the same diary he writes in epigrammatic style, "No one to feel the other's grief, no one to understand the other's joy! People imagine that they can reach one another, but in reality they only pass one another by. Oh misery for him who realizes this!" Schubert realized it, and returning to the earlier notion of song, writes "All that I have created is born of my understanding of music and my own sorrow: that which is engendered by grief alone seems

to please the world least of all." If people merely pass each other in the dark, offering each other no consolation, then one must find meaning elsewhere, and having hinted what that is, he then makes it explicit: "O imagination! Man's greatest treasure, inexhaustible source at which both Art and Learning come to drink! O remain with us, though recognized and venerated only by the few. . . ." Despite the style, one can surmise that in his art Schubert discovered what he could find nowhere else: the means of transforming despair, as in the early laments, into something beautiful, in which beauty itself offers release. Here of course Schubert found himself entirely in line with the Romantic poets (including those who refused to call themselves Romantics), who, to use Hazlitt's image of the lamp, can treat their poetry as a beacon that emanates from the soul.⁴ The author is found in the works. Schubert saw the potential for song to accomplish this in ways that no other type of composition could.

Poetic quality of course counts for something, but many other factors come into play; by no means are all of Schubert's seventy-four settings of Goethe's texts masterpieces. Texts used in early songs by Matthisson and Schiller touched him deeply, and songs of the quality of "Die Betende," "An Emma," and "An Laura" make this clear. We may be inclined to deprecate the texts written by and foisted on him by his friends, especially texts by Mayrhofer and Schober, but in fact no foisting went on here. With a great poet such as Klopstock, Schubert seldom rose above the mundane, but Schober's "An die Musik" stands as one of his finest songs. Texts by his closest friends, especially Schober, could address matters that, through a shared understanding, lay at the heart of Schubert's deepest concerns. Similar things happened with other minor poets who could also bring the best from him, as does Ernst Schulze with "Im Frühling" ("In Spring") or Johann Gabriel Seidl with "Der Wanderer an den Mond" ("The Wanderer to the Moon"), and of course Wilhelm Müller does this with *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise*. The same can be said about Georg Philipp Schmidt von Lübeck ("Der Wanderer"), Schubart ("Die Forelle"—"The Trout"), Matthias Claudius ("Der Tod und das Mädchen"—"Death and the Maiden") and Friedrich Rückert ("Sei mir gegrüsst"—"I Greet You"), all of whom wrote texts that would not only give rise to exceptional songs, but also songs that Schubert used directly in instrumental works.

At issue in Schubert's choice of texts was not so much the standing of the poet (with Goethe being something of an exception), but the possibilities the texts offered in allowing him to explore those things most important to him, usually of a specifically personal nature. As one would expect from the large number of songs he composed, Schubert covers an enormous range of emotions, subjects, phenomena, beliefs, and whatever else struck him as personally significant. As I noted in chapter 1, he could identify in a direct way with characters portrayed in his songs, or the emotions they or the songs themselves project, in anything from a lament to a ballad. At various points in his life new types of texts became important to him, revealing his internal growth at all stages, occasionally related to events but more often reflective of his spiritual or philosophical development at any given time. Through the musical settings he appropriates these texts for himself, often internalizing them more than interpreting.

While he covers a large and varied range of emotions in the songs, some recur with great consistency, giving them a special place in his orbit, and of course there can be a crossover of emotions within a single song. One of the most consistent subjects is longing (*Sehnsucht*), the impulse of that which cannot be achieved, be it love, happiness, security, peace of mind, a sense of home, or anything else to which one aspires. A number of songs simply have "*Sehnsucht*" as their title, some by the great poets such as Goethe and Schiller, with others by minor poets (Seidl and Theodor Körner) or friends (Mayrhofer). Other songs may have "*Sehnsucht*" somewhere in the title, or may be about longing even if the title lacks a hint of it. Longing crosses over with numerous other subjects, certainly in the suffering it evokes, but also those things for which one longs, such as love, joy, home, or even death.

The wanderer emerges as one of the most poignant manifestations of longing, and numerous songs, with or without the word *wanderer* in the title, portray the condition of the wanderer. Wandering itself becomes something akin to the act of writing poetry or song, in that only disappointment will come of one's search, but the act of being in motion, or exercising the imagination, will in itself offer the best possible consolation. If the search itself—or the act of writing—stops, hope will also vanish.

The gods come in for treatment as well, and the Greek gods portrayed may not be entirely unrelated to the Christian god whose

power, Schubert learned at home, church, and school, should be feared. A god who instills more fear than anything else may be very useful to those in authority, including the state, but this yields a skewed type of spirituality, as eighteenth-century writers such as Voltaire and Baron d'Holbach made clear. The god worshipped during the early nineteenth-century Habsburg empire had limited appeal to Schubert, whose sense of spirituality did not include a bullying God, and he may have tried to get at that through his choice of texts and depictions of the characteristics of some of the Greek gods, who could be violent, unfair, and irrational. When they show love, they bear little resemblance to the god Schubert grew up with, and here he seems able to create a new sense of religion, one that defies any normal type of description, but one that we know about because he can reveal it in his music. In his choices of texts he gives us strong clues about this, and one way this can be done is through poets' favorite muses such as Laura, who direct us toward spirituality with touches of sensuality. These muses can take us through pastoral scenes to Elysium, through dreams to visions of heaven, to a religion that has its essence in Romanticism with transcendence as the highest goal.

Later in his life Schubert moved toward another type of song that in the most profound possible way gets at the summation of his existence; his treatment of texts and music at this stage of his life was certainly personal in the extreme. While he had hinted at this earlier, it emerged most clearly around 1826 and then continued throughout his last years of life. One of the most interesting examples of this is "Mignon's Song," "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt," a text by Goethe from *Wilhelm Meister* that Schubert set six times throughout his life, once as a part song and five times as a solo song. He set it first in 1815 (versions in A flat and F), twice in 1816, and twice again in 1826. From an early age, the text took on importance for him—with its opening line (from which the title comes): "Only the one who knows longing knows how I suffer"—and he kept rewriting the song until he got it right. The first part of this short poem is contemplative, but it then goes into an active middle section, with almost violent emotions: "Ah, the one who loves and knows me is far away. My head is dizzy, my inner being burns." It then returns to the opening line of text. With his earliest settings he knew the middle section had to be treated in a different way than

the opening and closing, and he achieved this either with recitative for the middle or a much more active accompanimental figuration. In the 1826 setting for solo voice, he finally achieved the full potential of the text, and gives us one of his finest songs. The extreme contrast between the first section (A) and the mid section (B) sets this 1826 version above all the others, with a gloriously gentle melody for the beginning of A and something approaching a musical breakdown for B. Here the accompaniment departs from the earlier gentle broken chord figuration, going into a rhythmically awkward and obsessively repeated chord figure, and moving to a dynamic climax of *forte* after staying *pianissimo* for the entire A section.

Unlike any of the other settings, this final one treats the A section as something nostalgic; in this case the longing itself is the subject of nostalgia, framed musically as a bittersweet memory of the past. The B section breaks the reverie violently, moving to the present tense with the despair of separation, with music as incendiary as the text. With this realization, can one return to the past reverie? The text does, but the music will not allow the reverie to hold. The final section starts just as the beginning had, and Schubert quickly makes it clear that return cannot be possible (Example 5.1). In the opening section, he uses one of his rare symmetrical hairpins in the voice part, emphasizing the sigh in "Sehnsucht," the high note of the phrase, but not exceeding *pianissimo*. In the return of A, at bar 39, he again puts in the hairpins in the voice part, but now over the word "kennt" ("know"), changing the emphasis from longing to knowing, with knowing taking on a new meaning after the fiery brush with the present reality. The emphasis comes not only with the hairpin but also the *fz* on "kennt," backed up by *forte* at that point in the piano, invoking the dynamic surge of the B section.

At this point in his life Schubert could no longer look at the past with nostalgia. Two years earlier in a letter to Kupelwieser he had made this clear:

Picture to yourself someone whose health is permanently injured, and who, in sheer despair, does everything to make it worse instead of better; picture to yourself, I say, someone whose most brilliant hopes have come to nothing, someone to whom love and friendship are at most a source of bitterness, someone whose inspiration

32
wei - de.

34
Nur wer die Sehn - sucht kennt, weiss, was ich lei - de, nur wer die

39
Sehn - sucht kennt, weiss, was ich lei - de!

decresc.

pp

f

pp

Example 5.1.

(whose creative inspiration at least) for all that is beautiful threatens to fail, and then ask yourself if that is not a wretched and unhappy being.⁵

One wishes to return to happy or at least bittersweet memories of the past, but chaos and annihilation encroach violently—with disease, depression, and shattered hopes—making it impossible to return to earlier moments of bliss. One may try, but the attempts are doomed to failure. This same realization drives more than one song in *Winterreise*,

specifically “Der Lindenbaum” and “Frühlingstraum” (discussed in chapter 6); in the latter the violent B section prevents any semblance of return at the end. As in his early songs, discussed in chapter 1, these late ones show the extraordinary power of song for Schubert, the personal significance of song to his outlook on himself and the world, and the central place that song played for him in all aspects of his life. The three-part format established in these songs, of nostalgia–destruction–attempted return, proved to have extraordinary implications for some of his finest achievements in instrumental writing.

SONG AS MODEL

As a composer of instrumental music Schubert did not have to invent the genres that most attracted him, most notably the symphony and string quartet (and quintet), but also solo piano works, piano trios, violin sonatas, fantasies, or other combinations of instruments. He could look to Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven for glorious compositions in all these genres, and not only did he learn from all of them, but in the case of Beethoven he was in danger of trying to become too much like him. Haydn, in developing his own unique conception of the symphony, appears to have looked to opera as a possible model. A significant portion of his professional life was tied up with opera as a composer, arranger, conductor, singing coach, copyist, and just about everything else; Haydn directed as many as one hundred operatic performances in a year, and he therefore did not have to go far to find his model. With opera as a dramatic genre intended for an audience, he could envisage the possibility of the symphony working in a similar way, and he drew heavily on operatic techniques to make his symphonies more dramatic. This ranged from slow movements with a vocal character, to counterpoint in development sections of sonata form movements—which often comes closer to counterpoint in operatic ensembles than any traditional instrumental counterpoint. Sonata form itself, which Haydn developed into something dramatic—unlike its treatment by most of his contemporaries—also can be found consistently in his operas, most notably in his treatment of aria form. In some symphonies Haydn actually borrows passages from well-known operas, giving a vocal association to these passages. As noted in chap-

ter 2, Haydn's biographer, Georg August Griesinger, wrote of Haydn's regret that "so many musicians now composed who had never learned to sing."⁶ Griesinger reports that Haydn complained, "instead of song they let instruments dominate." Clearly, Haydn believed that instrumental works and vocal works have much in common.

Having performed at least thirty of Haydn's symphonies in both the Seminary and friends' orchestras and having nothing but the highest possible admiration for them, Schubert surely sensed what Haydn had said about the vocal qualities in these works. Of course he knew many of the Haydn quartets as well, having read them with his family quartet or in arrangements with the friends' orchestras. Schubert also aspired to vocal writing in his instrumental works, but, unlike Haydn, opera did not provide the source. Schubert put a great amount of energy into opera from as early as 1811 to the end of his life, but opera never became a focus as it did for both Haydn and Mozart. As highly successful opera composers, Haydn and Mozart could easily see its transferability to other types of composition, but despite Schubert's wish for operatic success, opera did not lie at the center of his musical world. For Schubert that centrality belonged to song, and despite the unlikelihood of song being a model or stepping-stone for the symphony or other types of instrumental works, for Schubert the importance of song permeated everything else that he wrote. At this time no other composer would have come up with such a possibility, but of course no other composer invested himself as fully in song as Schubert did; by the end of the nineteenth century it would no longer be a radical idea, as we can see from Mahler's symphonies, and Mahler, despite his reluctance, clearly owed a debt to Schubert.

The ways in which song infiltrates Schubert's instrumental works are varied in the extreme, sometimes as overt as quotation, but more often in very subtle and complex ways; often the innovative features of his instrumental works—those features that set them apart from the works of all other composers—he first explored in songs, and these can include harmonic and tonal approaches. The most obvious associations between songs and instrumental works involve the usage of specific songs (or a part of a song) as themes for theme and variation movements. Schubert could follow Haydn's lead on this, notably the String Quartet, Op. 76, no. 3, which uses Haydn's own anthem "Gott erhalte Franz der Kaiser" ("God Save Emperor Franz") as the

theme for the theme and variations in the slow movement. Schubert used this procedure much more frequently than Haydn or any other composer of the time. Schubert often goes well beyond merely finding a good theme to set as variations; the subject and atmosphere provided by the song can instill something essential into the entire instrumental work. These works include:

- “Der Wanderer” (D489) in the “Wanderer” Fantasy (D760)
- “Die Forelle” (“The Trout,” D550) in the Piano Quintet in A, fourth movement (D667)
- “Der Tod und das Mädchen” (D531) in the String Quartet in D minor, second movement (D810)
- “Die Götter Greichenlands” (“The Greek Gods,” D677) in the String Quartet in A minor, third movement (D803)
- “Sei mir gegrüßt” (D741) in the Fantasy in C for Violin and Piano (D934)
- “Trockne Blumen” (“Withered Flowers”) from *Die schöne Müllerin* (D795-8) in the Introduction and Variations for Flute and Piano (D802)

Not only does Schubert use songs in this way, but he draws from opera as well; he uses the duet “Gelagert unter’m hellen Dach der Bäume” (“Kept Under the Bright Canopy of the Trees”) from *Die Freunde von Salamanka* for the fourth movement of the Octet (D803).

The highly melodic character of some movements in instrumental works—especially for solo piano—suggests another possibility. In the Impromptu in B flat the melody provides the theme for a set of variations, not unlike the song variations just noted, but vocal or melodic material can drive a movement or piece in a very different way, going well beyond the variation idea. This happens most notably in another impromptu, the Impromptu in G flat (D 899, no. 3, 1827); while we associate the term *song without words* with Mendelssohn, Schubert should get credit for creating the genre, as this impromptu can be described in no other way. Not only does the upper part of the right hand give a vocal melody, but it falls strictly within Schubert’s own singing range, transposed an octave lower—as in most of his songs, it never goes below middle C or an octave and a half above it (G). In fact, the G occurs only once, at the most glorious vocal moment in

the piece. The vocal line remains continuous throughout, notated with upward stems to distinguish it from the accompanimental figuration also usually in the right hand. Only on a few occasions does the singer bow out for short instrumental interludes.

Since a pianist instead of an actual singer does the singing in this case, Schubert liberally uses hairpins and wedges in the upper vocal line, defining little arch shapes or rising gestures as they occur, putting in twice as many as in the voice part in all of *Winterreise*. He also makes ample use of slurs to reinforce the vocal character of phrases. There is a notable omission of hairpins in bar 49, with G' approached as a leap of a fifth, into the upper vocal register, exactly the point that requires a distinctive vocal gesture of holding back on a high note at a *pianissimo* level (Example 5.2). This point in fact calls for such a special gesture that hairpin signs would be inadequate. The moment of arrival in this case can only be described as an epiphany, and it requires something much more subtle from the performer than the usual vocal gesture. If the performer fails to recognize the resplendent nature of this spot, then no hairpin or any other sign will help. Schubert can do nothing but rely on the musical instinct of the player to get it right, and the recordings of András Schiff, Clifford Curzon, and others confirm just how glorious this gesture can be.

With the amount of writing for the piano required to set so many songs, it should come as no surprise that one would find parallels between aspects of song accompaniments and Schubert's other writing for piano. In most cases techniques and figuration used in the songs find their way into sonatas or chamber works with piano, but this can work in reverse as well, with procedures from piano works infiltrating songs. That happens, for example, in a distinctive treatment of harmonic sequences found in the March in E (D606), which ranges



Example 5.2.

quickly and wildly through numerous keys, and in a more abbreviated version of this in the later song "Jägers Liebeslied" ("Hunter's Love Song," D909). It appears that the songs, always on the front line of Schubert's creativity, and able to give him ideas about what might work in other compositions as well, could in some cases even help to get him out of impasses or blocks in other works. These means cover a wide range of possibilities, from the smallest devices of keyboard figuration, treatments of melody, the placement of melody within the texture, and harmony, to larger considerations of tonality and even form. Not only can these possibilities allow the composer to work through matters of musical craft, but they can also imbue the instrumental works with associations that come from the songs or types of songs from which they borrow material.

One often finds distinctive melodic episodes in instrumental works, as happens in the Andantino from *Moments Musicaux* (D780), which appear to have an identifiable vocal character. Specific song models will not emerge, although more general models may, as in this case the opening of "Pilgerweise" ("Pilgrimage," D789). That type of melody accompaniment became familiar in the late piano sonatas, appearing in all of the last three. These vocal episodes often stand in marked contrast to the more distinctive keyboard figurations that surround them. In fact, the keyboard figurations may also have a home in song. As for issues of harmony and tonality, Schubert often experimented with daring procedures in songs well before putting them into practice in larger instrumental works. In some of his earliest songs he already used modulations to keys other than those related through the more standard cycle of fifths, especially modulating by thirds either up or down or by semitones. Similarly, his use of enharmonic equivalences, shifting for example from D flat to C sharp to explore an entire new range of tonalities, begins in early songs and recurs frequently. Some songs begin on something other than the home key, some have extended chromatic progressions, others offer his characteristic use of the Neapolitan chord (a distinctive chord that lies a semitone above the tonic or home key) and flat VI (a chord built on the lowered sixth degree of the scale in major, which often emerges as a key in its own right); or some explore favorite keys such as G flat. Songs intersect with symphonies, sonatas, quartets, and all the other types of instrumental works in numerous ways; Schubert's voice finds its essence in

the human voice, singing directly through melodic lines or indirectly through the associations of song and accompaniment.

CONFRONTING BEETHOVEN

Much has been written about Schubert and Beethoven, and until recently much of this focused on Schubert's inferiority to Beethoven, whether the two of them ever actually met, Schubert's frequent apparent borrowing from Beethoven's music, and the formulation of an entire musical heritage based on Beethoven into which Schubert does not fit. For many, Beethoven lies at the center of all musical value, as he is seen as the formulator of a distinctive musical language—especially in symphonies—that presents an heroic struggle to overcome forces of opposition, and leads us to the highest pinnacle of human and spiritual aspiration.⁷ By this standard, no composer before or after him can compare favorably, so Haydn and Mozart rate at best as precursors, and Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and even Brahms as imitators who never quite managed to scale the heights. By the end of the twentieth century challenges to these views finally arose, but since these opinions have persisted so long, we remain dogged by them. Beethoven of course cast a very long shadow, certainly while he lived and during the century that followed, and escaping that shadow can be all but impossible, as we know from the examples of Brahms and others.

The lives of Schubert and Beethoven overlapped by thirty years: Beethoven, at the age of fifty-six, died one year before Schubert, and an age difference of twenty-seven years separated them. Despite the claim of Anton Schindler that a stammering Schubert, racked by inferiority, bolted from Beethoven's presence after dedicating his *Variations on a French Song for piano four-hands*, Op. 10, to the master, no firm evidence exists that the two of them ever actually met.⁸ We know more about how each one felt about the other's music, although not much from Beethoven's side. No one in Vienna with the slightest musical inclination could avoid Schubert's songs and male part songs when they started to be published, and Beethoven certainly knew some of these works, expressing an approval he did not bestow on virtually any other living composer.⁹ No musician could avoid the impact

of Beethoven, least of all a young composer such as Schubert, and he had no choice but to come to terms with the shadow in his own special ways. Time and again, in letters or comments recalled in the memoirs of friends, he expressed his deep admiration for Beethoven, and numerous writers have documented Beethoven borrowings—conscious or unconscious—in Schubert's music. He very nearly threw away his song "Die Forelle" when, after performing it for friends, one pointed out a similarity to Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture; according to Johann Leopold Ebner, his friends would not allow him to destroy it.¹⁰

As a song composer, Schubert did not have to worry much about Beethoven or anyone else, although he may have shunned song cycles as long as he did to avoid comparison with Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte* ("To the Distant Beloved"). He of course was much more than a song composer, having written quartets, piano works, and even symphonies from the very beginning, and no doubt dreaded the limited reputation of "songwriter," especially after his public successes in that genre. Even within his close circle of friends, most of whom had literary backgrounds, he could not shake the label of "songwriter"; few of these friends had an interest in anything but his vocal works. As a composer of instrumental works, his earliest inclinations had been satisfied by writing for the family string quartet, the orchestras of friends, the Seminary, or other more *ad hoc* arrangements, all including himself as a performer, but after a certain point he did not see that as enough. Whether Schubert liked it or not, Beethoven provided a model: Beethoven's first two symphonies belonged to the repertoire of the friends' orchestras, but the *Eroica* Symphony and everything that followed it did not. Beethoven had gone through his own radical transformation shortly after the turn of the century, moving on from the early efforts with a much grander plan, articulated to his friend Krumpholz (according to Carl Czerny), that "I am far from satisfied with my past works: from today on I shall take a new way."¹¹ In the so-called Heiligenstadt Testament, a letter to his brothers about how he apparently averted suicide, but in reality more a document for posterity, he clarifies what that "new way" would be—what his works would give to humanity in showing how the great struggles can be overcome.

The toddler Schubert would have known nothing of this, but as a youth, having heard the *Eroica* and comparing it with the first two

symphonies, he could see readily that an unbridgeable gulf separated these. The fickle Viennese audiences were not always prepared to give Beethoven his due, and their interest in his symphonies waxed and waned, just as earlier audiences' interest in Mozart's piano concertos had. At the best of times audiences could not get enough of Beethoven's symphonies, and whether or not they understood anything of these works, they venerated them to a point that Beethoven's reputation with posterity seemed secure, and he could look back with some satisfaction on what he had done for humanity. Adulation also secured his financial independence, if not from the performance of his symphonies, then from the publication of other music, including arrangements of symphonies, the sales of which his reputation would fuel. Unlike most of the audience, Schubert understood perfectly well what Beethoven accomplished with his symphonies; he understood that one could find no better forum for getting musical works with social, philosophical, or spiritual discourse across, and to the maturing Schubert there seemed no question about this as the right direction for himself.

To become a symphonist of the first order certain steps had to be taken, and this meant putting his first six symphonies behind him, as Beethoven had done with his first two, and moving on to the new realm. It also occurred to him as part of this process that he would have to take a different approach to other types of instrumental works, to cut his teeth on the challenges of the string quartet and other types of chamber works. He gave Kupelwieser a taste of his thoughts on these matters in a letter dated 31 March 1824, cited in chapter 3, which related to his loss of peace and the demise of the reading society, which also includes information on his latest works and aspirations:

Of songs I have not written many new ones, but I have tried my hand at several instrumental works, for I wrote two Quartets for violins, viola and violoncello and an Octet, and I want to write another quartet, in fact I intend to pave my way towards grand symphony in that manner.—The latest in Vienna is that Beethoven is to give a concert at which he is to produce his new Symphony, three movements from the new Mass and a new Overture.—God willing, I too am thinking of giving a similar concert next year.¹²

The two quartets are the A minor (D804) and the D minor, "Death and the Maiden" (D810), and the anticipated quartet is no doubt the G major

(D887). The Beethoven symphony, with monumental anticipation leading up to its performance, was the Ninth, the mass was the *Missa solemnis*, and the overture the *Consecration of the House*. It does not seem to be a coincidence that Schubert links his own instrumental efforts at this point with Beethoven's achievements, and aspired to the same.

The date of this letter, 1824, should not put us off the track of when Schubert grappled to come to terms with Beethoven; that happened much earlier, and we can see it in his struggle with the symphony itself.¹³ Some aspects of the performance history of his first six symphonies have already been discussed; Schubert wrote the last of these between October 1817 and February 1818, and it still very much belonged to the symphonies written for the performance enjoyment of his friends and himself. Not long after the group disbanded and would never again be revived. Any subsequent symphonies could not be written with this group in mind, but regardless, some of the same performance issues would still have to be addressed, perhaps only in an implied way, even if he attempted to write symphonies for the larger professional performance environment. In everything he had written to this point (with the exception of operas) he had built himself in as a performer and shared the experience with his fellow performers in a special way; in fact, he thought of his audience as his fellow performers whether they played or not. Beethoven did not think in those terms, and part of the struggle for Schubert may very well have been resolving this matter of performance; in the reality of the professional performance environment he would not be seated among the violists. Could he, though, still build himself into the part and create the possibility for the audience to embrace that sense of shared performance experience, maintaining the shortened distance between himself and his audience that characterized his early works? With some types of works, most notably the songs, the sense of shared performance never disappeared. He went through the same struggle with other works as well, certainly with string quartets, and also with various types of solo compositions, including those for his beloved gentle piano, especially with the pieces he wrote for piano that he could not perform up to standard. The same proved true of works for violin and piano; after his sonatas for this combination from 1816, entirely accessible to amateurs, his Fantasy in C written more than a decade later lay within the grasp of virtuoso violinists and pianists only.

With these complex issues for the symphony—the lure of Beethoven and the host of problems that provoked—we see the struggle unfolding over the next few years, illustrated in Schubert’s various false starts at writing the new kind of symphony. From the years 1818 to 1821 he produced only symphonic fragments and sketches aside from the Overture in E minor (D648) of 1819; a projected Symphony in D (D615), which remained as fragments of two movements in piano sketches from 1818; a work in A (D966B) from after 1819 that is not sufficiently complete to recognize as a symphony or overture; another Symphony in D (D708A) written in 1820 and 1821, with fragments of four movements in piano sketches; and a Symphony in E (D729) from 1821, which consists of four movements sketched in orchestral score. The last one of these has been dubbed Symphony No. 7, and reveals that Schubert had begun to resolve some of the issues, although he did not finish the work, leaving it only half orchestrated.

THE “UNFINISHED”

Schubert finally did resolve his symphonic issues—although not completely—with one of the great works of the symphonic repertoire, his so-called “Unfinished” Symphony (D759), written in 1822, the same year he completed *Alfonso und Estrella*. Much hand-wringing has addressed the question of the work being “unfinished,” whether it simply bogged down in the partly sketched third movement, or if he actually did finish it, but diverted the other movements to *Rosamunde* when he needed new material for a commission.¹⁴ Speculation even exists on the possibility of this being intended as a two-movement work, comparing it to some of Beethoven’s piano sonatas of that type; some have speculated that Schubert may have recognized the work as complete with the two movements he wrote, and that he abandoned the scherzo as a bad idea.¹⁵ We can speculate as much as we like, bringing the Hüttenbrenner brothers into the fray since the autograph came into their possession and stayed there for decades unperformed, but very simply no one knows exactly why the work has only two movements. That it has two is in itself a great accomplishment, considering that these movements appeared to quell the crisis of the previous four years, bringing Schubert to the point he hoped to reach at this

stage. The fact that no one performed it until 1865, after the conductor Johann Herbeck, the Schubert biographer Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, and others embarrassed Anselm Hütterbrenner into making it available,¹⁶ proved a great loss for four decades of the nineteenth century.

For Schubert everything came together in this work, with the exception, apparently, of the two movements needed to complete it. He realized to the fullest what he wished to do with a symphony, he came to terms with Beethoven, and he even resolved the performance/listener issue, a solution that remained as conjectural as the performance of the work during his lifetime. He may at least in part have been able to solve these problems through the way that had always worked for him, which was to look to his wellspring of creativity in his songs. His output of songs in the year or so preceding completion of the "Unfinished" was not prolific—about two dozen—but songs written during this time may have helped him with the symphonic crisis, especially one particular song with a text by Goethe (or at least associated with Goethe), "Suleika I."

The first movement of the "Unfinished" has certain features in common with the first movement of the *Eroica*, enough to suggest that Schubert could have been offering some commentary on Beethoven in his own "new way" symphony. Beethoven triggers the monumental struggle in his movement not with the banal opening theme outlining an E flat chord (so banal he may have cribbed it from the start of Mozart's little opera *Bastien und Bastienne*, which Mozart wrote at the age of twelve), but instead with a metric problem introduced by the new theme at bar 22, where a series of duple patterns undermines the thus-far stable home meter of 3/4, and lasts until bar 35 (Example 5.3). Various events of the exposition continue to challenge that meter, but none more aggressively than the striking *sf* chords culminating in the same chord repeated six times, obliterating the original meter, and keeping the remainder of the exposition on edge. The problem builds in the development and finally hits with a fury, with an extended passage of dissonant chords that continues the two-versus-three problem, and these clearly point back to the metric problem introduced early in the exposition. As chaotic as this may sound it turns out to be surprisingly orderly, alternating (if one ignores the bar lines) two bars of 3/4 followed by six bars of 2/4.¹⁷ Beethoven follows all this upheaval

The musical score for Example 5.5a consists of ten staves. The top two staves are for vocal parts (soprano and alto), both marked *pp*. The next four staves are for piano accompaniment, with the right hand (treble clef) and left hand (bass clef) each having two staves. The piano part features a complex, rhythmic pattern in the right hand and a more regular pattern in the left hand. The vocal line is marked *pp* and features a melodic line with a long note in the first staff.

Example 5.5a.

“Does the east wind bring me joyous news?”). In his analysis, Kurth argues that in the discourse between the two meters, 3/4 never does quell the more lyrically inclined 6/8, and the lyrical impulse in the movement does not give in to the forces assailing it; in a generalized way he compares this to Beethoven’s opposite approach.¹⁹ Aggressive chords in the Schubert movement challenge the lyrical impulse, but they fail to dislodge it, and the second movement carries on in this spirit. Looking at it in this way, one can see why Schubert may have had difficulty completing the work, since scherzos and finales would

The musical score for Example 5.5b consists of two systems. The first system shows the Singstimme (Soprano) and Pianoforte (Piano) parts. The Singstimme part is marked 'Etwas lebhaft' and the Pianoforte part is marked '(Mit Verschiebung)' and 'pp'. The Pianoforte part features a piano introduction with a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system shows the Singstimme part with the lyrics 'Was be - deu - tet die He - we - gung?' and the Pianoforte part with the marking 'sempre legato' and 'pp'. The Pianoforte part features a continuous melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

Example 5.5b.

be particularly difficult to adapt to the lyrical spirit. It would take a few more years, and more experience with string quartets, to unlock that door, which he did resolutely with his last symphony, the “Great” in C major.

For Beethoven’s *Eroica*, the lyrical theme in the development of the first movement had been an intrusion, a false start, something to be dismissed as fraudulent in the heroic struggle toward a real resolution. His solution comes from within, but with a sense of rigor unlike anything that Haydn would have proposed; Haydn, in his enlightened mode, was much more willing to accept contradictions and duality, or the prospect of conflicting forces coexisting. Haydn had already dealt with the 3/4–6/8 duality in a symphony, in the first movement of No. 103, also letting them represent other forces, and for him coexistence proved to be the solution.²⁰ Schubert could not follow a course as straightforward as Haydn’s or as morally severe as Beethoven’s. For him the lyrical impulse or the sensual impulse represented the only solution, one that could not be subsumed by other forces, but in refusing to let this go he knew full well that his solution could never be the

unifying one that Beethoven could work out, but would always involve contradiction and ambivalence. In this respect the "Unfinished" may also draw on another song to a text by Goethe that Schubert composed possibly in the same month as "Suleika I," this being "Grenzen der Menschheit" ("Human Limitations"), a text racked with contradictions. Here the gods merely observe the drama of humans rising briefly and then sinking eternally, and logical sequence can be difficult to locate. The devotion of poets to the Heavenly Father precludes comparison of themselves with the gods, but the poem concludes by making the comparison, asking in what ways the gods can be distinguished from mortals. The mere observation by the gods that humans rise and sink in an endless chain can hardly be cause for the "childlike shudder deep in my breast" noted in the first verse.²¹

With his two movements, Schubert achieved a public work of the first order, a symphony with his own vision, very different from Beethoven's vision. Since neither the "Unfinished" or his next—and last—symphony were performed during his lifetime, he could not test the actual effect on an audience; what he hoped to achieve in that respect had to be implied in the music itself. Could the listener be a performer, as had been possible in earlier works? Could he write a work essentially for a listening audience and still expect his listeners to share in a type of performance experience, communing with him as they could as members of an ensemble in which he also played? The opening eight bars may throw that into question as we strain to hear this in the low strings at *pianissimo*. Curiously, though, what he gives us, at least at the beginning, is an orchestrated song without words, the opening motto not unlike the first five bars of "Suleika I" (see Example 5.5b) in the same key and *pianissimo*. The string accompaniment starting immediately after the eight-bar introduction, with *pizzicato* in the three lower voices, seems very similar to the piano accompaniment of the song, and the melody that enters at bar 13 could hardly be more vocal (see Example 5.5a). The accompaniment remains fairly constant, but soon the unison oboe and clarinet are joined by other woodwinds in a gentle counterpoint, turning this passage into a more elaborate part song. In the G major second group some of the roles reverse as the woodwinds join the accompaniment and the cello carries the new melody, soon passing it over to first and second violins. The melody finally ends with an interruption first by

a bar of silence and then a jolting and surprising *ffz* C minor chord in the full orchestra.

The song appears to end here, but it soon reasserts itself as a conversational part song in the strings with wind accompaniment, and the balance of the exposition continues the struggle between the part song and full orchestral chords. By beginning the “Unfinished” as a song without words, Schubert has engaged us every bit as much as a singer and pianist performing a song or a lone pianist indulging in the sensuality of the Impromptu in G flat. Not only does he make a statement with his use of lyrical themes that refuse to give in, but with this material he engages the listener as a performer, prompting us to play it along with him, as though we can still catch his glance in the viola section. With the orchestral chords, and what happens in much of the development section, he seems to take the instruments out of our hands, temporarily putting us on the sideline as we wait for the cue to come back in. That cue comes, and our involvement remains all-important, transported to the part-song second movement. In the first movement of the *Eroica*, Beethoven gives us no similar opportunity for engagement, snatching away the morsel he throws us in the development almost as quickly as he introduces it, and he presents a dirge in the second movement. What Schubert achieved in the “Unfinished” works in one form or another in all his subsequent instrumental works, allowing him to write public works that sacrifice none of the intimacy so critical to his songs and early works. The distance between Schubert and his listeners remained as short as possible right to the end, in posthumous works as well as those performed while he lived, resounding through the next two centuries.

NOTES

1. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert's Letters and Other Writings*, trans. Venetia Savile (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 32–33.
2. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 60–61.
3. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 75–77.
4. M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958), 52.
5. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 78.

6. Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, ed. and trans. Vernon Gotwals (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 61.

7. Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna 1792–1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

8. Maynard Solomon, "Schubert and Beethoven," *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 119–23.

9. Solomon, "Schubert and Beethoven," 118.

10. Edward T. Cone, "Schubert's Beethoven," in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 277.

11. O. G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* (New York: Dover, 1926), 31.

12. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 339.

13. John M. Gingerich, "Unfinished Considerations: Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony in the Context of His Beethoven Project," *19th-Century Music* 31 (2007): 196. Gingerich calls this thrust Schubert's "Beethoven project."

14. Brian Newbould, *Schubert and the Symphony: A New Perspective* (London: Toccata Press, 1992), 202–03.

15. This idea arose shortly after the first performance. See Maurice J. E. Brown, *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1978), 119.

16. Brown, *Schubert*, 118. For a summary of the fate of the work before 1865, see Gingerich, "Unfinished Considerations," 102–04.

17. See the analysis by Philip G. Downs in "Beethoven's 'New Way' and the *Eroica*," in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 93.

18. Richard Kurth, "On the Subject of Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony: *Was bedeutet die Bewegung?*" *19th-Century Music* 23 (1999): 3–6. Others, of course, have been aware of the metric similarity to "Suleika I," including Alfred Einstein in *Schubert*, trans. David Ascoli (London: Cassell, 1951), 219–20.

19. Kurth, "On the Subject of Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony," 26–29. Other writers address Schubert's use of lyrical themes compared with Beethoven's, including Carl Dahlhaus in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154.

20. David Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 190–95.

21. E. H. Zeydel, *Goethe the Lyricist*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 65.

Chapter Six

Descent into Darkness

SCHUBERT EXPERIENCED MUCH TO CAUSE despondency, and he does not avoid despair in his works. After contracting syphilis, he knew that he had little hope of surviving longer than a few years. Before that, disappointments piled up one after the other, from his dismal prospects in love to his at-times stormy relationship with his father. Despite his ability to taunt those in authority, with or without Schober, he undoubtedly deeply resented the repressive society in which he lived, with its secret police, mind-numbing atmosphere, and restrictions on just about any kind of meaningful discussion. Financial instability always lurked not far in the background, and from time to time he applied for music positions to alleviate the situation. He could watch his friends one by one gain some measure of respectability as they graduated from university and took positions in the civil service or elsewhere, and while he could have found a similar stability working in his father's school, he left that position as quickly as he could. None of the music appointments materialized, generally going to much less talented people. He probably could not actually see himself in one of these posts, but increasing isolation from some of his friends who took such appointments may have had an effect. Had he actually secured one, he may not have lasted any longer than he did working for his father. Money could be earned from publishing his music, but the jury remains out on whether he made enough to support himself in this way.¹

As dismal as his prospects seemed at times, he also managed to enjoy the good life, not in the lap of luxury, but with his friends whom he loved so dearly, especially during the years when a Bohemian lifestyle remained possible. Still in his late teens, he could write in his diary that “blissful moments brighten this dark life.”² At this point in 1816 he had had his one brush with marriage, and probably to his relief, nothing came of it. As for his lifestyle, his brother Ignaz, the most politically liberated of his siblings, wrote to him wistfully in 1818 about the freedom he imagined that Schubert enjoyed, and he included politics, religion, filial obligations, teaching, and the arts in his rant:

You happy creature! How enviable is your lot! You live in sweet, golden freedom, can give free rein to your musical genius, may let your thoughts stray where they will; you are loved, admired and idolized, while the likes of us wretched scholastic beasts of burden are abandoned to all the roughnesses of wild youngsters and exposed to a host of abuses, not to mention that we are further humiliatingly subjected to an ungrateful public and a lot of dunderheaded bigwigs. You will be surprised when I tell you that it has got to such a pitch in our house that they no longer even dare to laugh when I tell them a funny yarn about superstition in the Scripture class. You may thus easily imagine that in these circumstances I am often seized by a secret anger, and that I am acquainted with liberty only by name.³

Schubert did not see much in his existence that could be described as “sweet” or “golden,” but he surely considered himself better off because of the choices he had made; otherwise, his own life would have been identical to Ignaz’s description.

For much of his life Schubert balanced his happiness and his despair, although the latter could easily get the best of him, especially after being afflicted with syphilis, which almost certainly meant an early death. Even then at times he could look at the dark side with a touch of humor and think of the balance of hope and despair in a light-hearted way. As ever, he found the best means for expressing this in his songs, and one of them, possibly written after he had syphilis, “Lachen und Weinen” (“Laughter and Crying”), with a text by Friedrich Rückert, takes a tongue-in-cheek look at the balance. In Rückert’s poem, laughter and crying simply happen uncontrollably for someone

in love, one in the morning, the other in the evening, all inexplicably, especially when one of these can so easily replace the other at any moment. For Schubert this did not have to be about someone in love, but could apply to anyone with a passion for life, who lives life to the fullest, as he did. Whether or not Rückert took his own text seriously (he probably did not), Schubert's music chuckles throughout, certainly when he represents crying with musical crocodile tears. The opening piano introduction sets the tone, with a jaunty dotted rhythm, leaps, and turns. Schubert often indulges in rapid shifts between major and minor, and in this song he takes these to the extreme, making a joke of it when he suddenly goes into minor for crying, and just as quickly returns back to major. As a great admirer of Mozart, Schubert knew full well that one did not have to resort to the minor to represent sorrow or regret. In *The Marriage of Figaro*, Mozart avoids the minor except for the opening of Act 4, when the servant Barbarina frets about losing a pin; for serious numbers, such as the Countess's outpourings of regret in "Porgi amor" and "Dove sono," Mozart uses the major mode. Here Schubert employs the minor as facetiously as Mozart does in *Figaro*, standing back and laughing not only with the laughter but also the crying, certainly laughing at himself.

The issue of balancing hope and despair remained central to his life, but in the letters, works, and other writings of later years, he seldom treated it in any way other than with dead earnestness. By no means, though, did he lapse into morbid dejection: every bit of his sparkling humor remains in some of his letters, for example, in one to Josef von Spaun on 21 July 1825, calling the town of Linz without Spaun "a horseman without a head, or soup without salt."⁴ Were it not for the good beer and wine, he would have hanged himself, with the superscription: "Died of grief for the fugitive soul of Linz!" He also continued to write light works for pure enjoyment, as he had with the Trout Quintet, for example with the Octet of 1824. More cheerful letters continue to come during his healthy periods, ribbing Eduard von Bauernfeld in September 1825 about being in love, describing the delights of travel in Steyr and encountering charming girls instead of wild beasts, or in May 1826 informing Bauernfeld and Mayrhofer that "Schober and Schwind give vent only to lamentations that are far more heartrending than those we listen to during Holy Week."⁵

“MY DREAM”

Schubert's allegorical tale of 3 July 1822, labeled “My Dream” by his brother Ferdinand when he sent it to Robert Schumann (who published it in the 5 February 1839 issue of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*), has, as one would expect, attracted a great amount of interest from writers on Schubert. In the absence of much biographical information about him, this piece of writing has proved very enticing to those who see biography in it, especially for biographers who feel compelled to psychoanalyze their subjects.⁶ Others recently have looked at it as a model for works or movements of works, taking the progression of rejection and acceptance by the father as something parallel to the form of some works, especially those using the three-part nostalgia–destruction–return (ABA’ or an extension of that to ABABA’) format.⁷

While not necessarily separating it from biography, these studies assume a linkage between Schubert's literary work of this type and his music. Most writers are cautious about the biographical aspects of the allegory since its events do not match those of his life, leading some to feel it represented no more than a literary exercise in the style of Wackenroder or Novalis.⁸ Writers who have linked the allegory with works written after it have made a convincing case that it had meaning for Schubert, going far beyond a romantic exercise, and that the sequence of events, while perhaps having some basis in biography, has more to do with an artistic process. Along with form, its underlying urges may be of the greatest importance, which Schubert articulates specifically with these lines: “I wandered once more into distant lands. Through long, long years I sang my songs. But when I wished to sing of love it turned to sorrow, and when I wanted to sing of sorrow it was transformed for me into love. So was I divided between love and sorrow.”⁹ Central to these lines and the entire allegory, aside from the notion of wandering so crucial to his works, stands the peculiar relation of love and sorrow, or happiness and despair, and the fact that they cannot be separated since one may actually generate the other.

In letters and diaries over the next few years this thought continues to resound as an *idée fixe*, with the role of sorrow gradually taking the upper hand. Early in 1824, his prospects for survival now bleak,

he entered in his diary that “sorrow sharpens the understanding and strengthens the character, whereas happiness seldom troubles about the former, and only makes for weakness or frivolity in the latter. . . . All that I have created is born of my understanding of music and my own sorrow: that which is engendered by grief alone seems to please the world least of all.”¹⁰ A few days later he wrote to Kupelwieser in despair, comparing his loss of peace to the opening lines of “Gretchen am Spinnrade,” and continued this tone in a letter to his brother Ferdinand in July, lamenting his oppression “by perpetual and incomprehensible longing,” although he avoids the suicidal words here that he had written to Kupelwieser. He took a step back and more objectively looked at his existence: “To be sure that blessed time is over when everything appeared to us in a nimbus of youthful glory, and we have to face instead the bitter facts of existence, which I try to beautify, however, as far as possible with my own imagination. . . . One turns instinctively to a place where one found happiness before, but in vain, for happiness is only to be found within ourselves.”¹¹ Of course he felt this deeply at any given moment, but by taking a more objective view, he expressed the impulse that could underlie the basis for works of music instead of something that would evoke thoughts of suicide or paralyze him in inertia. He could go back to the allegory of 1822 and allow the singing of sorrow to prompt a transformation into love or happiness. That sense of happiness no longer could be found in the pleasures of years gone by, but now, as he wrote to Ferdinand, could only come from within. Here lay the basis for the great works of his remaining years, and the strongest element that has allowed his works to be embraced with passion ever since.

DESPAIR: *WINTERREISE*

While in Zseliz, Hungary, in September 1824, on one of his stints working for the Eszterházy family and feeling the wretchedness of this isolated place, Schubert wrote to Schober, longing for contact with the old group of closest friends: “If only we were together, you, Swind, Kuppel and I, each stroke of ill-luck would be easy enough to bear, but instead we are all separated, each one in a different corner, and in that lies my real unhappiness.”¹² He had heard from Schwind that Schober

suffered from a bad attack of despair, and a political edge colored his response to this; it did not surprise him since he considered this as “the fate of most intelligent people in this miserable world.” Nothing seemed more important than getting back to Vienna, ending his wandering in “farthest Hungary,” away from people with nothing to say. Most wistfully he recalled “that time when in our intimate circle each showed the other, with motherly diffidence, the children of his Art, and waited, not without apprehension, for the verdict that Love and Truth would pronounce upon them.”

Some vestiges of those times returned, and three years later Josef von Spaun described the meeting at which Schubert first sang Part 1 of *Winterreise* to the group, already partially cited in chapter 2:

One day he said to me “Come to Schober’s today, I will sing you a cycle of awe-inspiring songs. I am anxious to know what you will say about them. They have affected me more than has been the case with any other songs.” So, in a voice wrought with emotion, he sang the whole of the “*Winterreise*” through to us. We were quite dumbfounded by the gloomy mood of these songs and Schober said he had only liked one song, “*Der Lindenbaum*.” To which Schubert only said, “I like these songs more than all the others and you will get to like them too.”¹³

Did Spaun recall this correctly, writing about it thirty-one years after the event? No one will be surprised by the reaction of the friends to these despondent songs, and that Schober liked only “*Der Lindenbaum*.” The surprise comes in Schubert’s reply, that he preferred them to all his other songs—well over 500 by this point—and that he thought his friends would also prefer them. Few works of art take us, to borrow Joseph Conrad’s title, so despairingly into the heart of darkness.

The text of *Winterreise*, by Wilhelm Müller, could not be more bleak. It starts with the word “*Fremd*” (“stranger”), and since the protagonist both arrives and departs as a stranger, he has nowhere to call home, nothing to attach himself to nostalgically except for the few happy recollections that arise in the cycle itself, and these will always be turned against him, either ironically or bitterly. As the cycle progresses he wanders ever deeper into despair, seeing his last hope hanging like the one remaining leaf on a tree early in winter. A

crow follows him, expecting him to fall, dogs snarl at him, he follows a mirage into the most bitter of memories, and the only signpost he sees directs him to a place from which no one has ever returned. Even laments, the singing of which may at one time have been consoling, now offer little but the realization that lamenting is for fools. In the end nothing remains but the village idiot playing a hurdy-gurdy, and at best he can hope for no comfort other than this strange old man, chased by howling dogs, endlessly accompanying his pathetic songs. At least in *Die schöne Müllerin*, the possibility of finality and rest existed in death, as the brook enticed the wandering miller to lie in its bed; death now becomes his friend just as it had been for the girl in “Der Tod und das Mädchen.” *Winterreise* offers no such release as even death remains elusive, and only perpetual misery awaits, at the very best tempered by numbness.

From the composer who otherwise always seems to find the delicate balance between despondency and hope, we search here in vain for something in the music that will transcend the dark words of the text, such as the words of “My Dream” about transforming sorrow through song into love. Schubert initially conceived of *Winterreise* as a twelve-song cycle, with a fairly symmetrical key structure in Part 1 if we think of the twelfth song in the key Schubert originally wrote it, D minor, the same key as the opening song. In Part 2, though, no pattern emerges, with the music ending as inconclusively in tonal terms as the text ends in oblivious torpor.

Just as the poems take the wanderer ever further into the abyss, Schubert does the same with the music. While the depth of the abyss may at first not be apparent, Schubert gives us indicators, such as the tonal shift for the cold wind in “Der Lindenbaum” (“The Linden Tree”). Two songs later, in one of the most striking of the entire cycle—“Auf dem Flusse” (“On the River”), he gives us a sense of how desperate things will become. The memory of the rippling water, its now-frozen surface, and his carving the name of his beloved in the ice, receive a gentle treatment, sometimes barely whispered at *ppp*, although increasingly agitated with the triplet figure in the accompaniment. The realization in the second part of the song that the surging water under the ice parallels his own unrest provokes an outburst with a shift from *ppp* to *f*, an angular vocal line, a menacing bass line, and

highly agitated right hand figuration. The downward spiral proceeds more quickly after this point.

In "Im Dorfe" ("In the Village"), the wanderer, with his aspirations shattered, must leave the village where his hopes lay, driven out by dogs, his dreams and rest no longer possible. The key of D major in this song gives way in the next song to D minor, the key traditionally associated with storms (also the opening key of the cycle), and now the storm hits with full fury in "Der stürmische Morgen" ("The Stormy Morning"). Song 19 seems as though it may be a temporary respite, but its easy-going character proves to be an especially dark irony, the dancing light he sees evoking the memory of his beloved's warm house in "Täuschung" ("Delusion"). Here of course Schubert uses the material he had first placed in *Alfonso und Estrella* for the ballad so central to that opera, and the emotion it provoked there works again here. Since the ballad appeared to have political significance with its Ossianic associations in the opera, the despair projected in this case may have political as well as personal reverberations, especially considering the description of the villagers just two songs earlier. These complacent folk dream of things they do not possess, not distressed by their Biedermeier existence, and drive the wanderer away with their noisy dogs, banishing him to a wilderness without dreams. This continues in No. 20, "Der Wegweiser" ("The Signpost"), as he now avoids the roads that other travelers take, wondering what forces him to the wilderness since he has committed no crime. He seeks rest but wanders restlessly, an immovable signpost directing him along a road from which no one has ever returned. The stubbornly repeated G in both piano and voice represents this immovable signpost; that note always returns after brief digressions from it.

Matters continue to get worse: in No. 22, "Mut" ("Courage"), he disparages the existence of God; how can there be a God if life is so wretched? If God does not exist, surely we must be our own gods. Then comes the enigmatic twenty-third song, "Die Nebensonnen" ("The Illusory Suns"), leaving us to wonder what the three suns are. Susan Youens seems convinced that the two that have already set represent the two eyes of his beloved, a plausible assumption based on earlier poems such as "Die zweie Sterne" ("The Two Stars"), the stars in that case being the beloved's eyes.¹⁴ Youens describes the song as having a

dance quality, a sarabande according to Arnold Feil,¹⁵ and while that is true, something else about the style of the song seems much more apparent, resulting from the nature of the part writing almost entirely in the bass clef or lying very low in the treble clef for a few bars. Here we have a part song for male voices, with the accompaniment defining the voices, and the singer usually doubling the top voice. The combination of dance and male part song suggests something other than the beloved's eyes, at least for Schubert, giving it a social context not unlike the music evoked, especially since the beloved is long gone by this point, and the inn just visited in No. 21, in fact a graveyard, has turned the protagonist away despite his desire to collapse there. From what we know of Schubert's perspective, the three suns may be society itself (represented by dance); his special society of friends and all their happy hours together—now the “umbarmherz'ge Schenke” (“merciless tavern”) of No. 21 (signified by the male part song); and his own imagination, which had always been his best refuge in the past. That sanctuary now eluded him, and like the protagonist of the song cycle, he could picture himself departing with the hurdy-gurdy player in the final song, stunned and singing to the dogs, as the piano imitates the hurdy-gurdy.

As grim as all this may seem, anyone who has sung or played this cycle will not dissolve into despondency at the end, and neither will the listener. Schubert himself could sing and play it and call it his favorite among all his songs. The music, despite its apparent lack of cohesion, its storms, agitation, wandering, inertia, and ironic pleasantness, does not force us into morbid retreat. In fact, it counteracts the words, which tell us that only fools lament; the music gives us Schubert's ultimate lament, embracing the depths of his own soul and his place in a hostile world. In this lament he surely transforms sorrow into something else—if not joy, then at least something that engages the imagination at the highest level, staving off the setting of the third and last sun.

Two of the songs in Part 1 of *Winterreise* give us strong examples of the three-part procedure noted earlier (or an extension beyond three parts), which involves an opening indulgence in nostalgia, a violent destruction of that atmosphere, and then an attempt to return to the earlier tone—with varying degrees of success, as the original aura can never wholly be recaptured. One of these, “Der Lindenbaum,”

with its beautiful opening melody, made the appropriate impression on Schober. The text in this case suits Schubert perfectly, offering one of the few nostalgic points of reference in the cycle, not something as congenial as home, but the linden tree that could prompt the wanderer to remember the happy times of love and sweet dreams under its branches. Its bark becomes a slate for the carving of words of love; even now, long after love has ended, the tree continues to beckon, its leaves rustling the words “you will find peace there.” As he walks by in the dark, the key shifts in the second part of the song to E minor, and a triplet figure to the accompaniment arises, providing an agitation vaguely reflective of the quicker triplets dominating the piano introduction. For the words about finding peace, we return to the major, although the triplets remain, perhaps alerting us not to believe these words.

The reverie breaks when the cold wind hits him in the face, blowing off his hat and driving him onward without looking back: the blast of wind comes with a tonal blast, now the beginning of the third part of the song, suddenly shifting from the home key of E major to C major—the flat VI (Example 6.1). The sixteenth-note triplets now remain in the accompaniment, adding to the destruction of the previous wistful mood. An extended interlude with sixteenth triplets takes us to the final stanza, and, we expect, the return of the opening melody. That melody returns, but here he modifies it with the triplet figure in the accompaniment introduced in the minor section, making the return illusory, conscious of walking in the dark and the disruption of the wind. He may still hear the enticing words, but the separation of distance gives them a hollow ring.

The musical score for Example 6.1 consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature changes from E major (two sharps) to C major (no sharps or flats). The vocal line begins with the word "Ruh." followed by a long rest, then "Die kal - - - ten Win - de". The piano accompaniment features a prominent sixteenth-note triplet figure in the right hand, which continues throughout the piece. The tempo and dynamics markings include *fz* (forzando) and *p* (piano). The score is numbered 44 in the top left corner.

Example 6.1.

The other song of this type, “Frühlingstraum” (“Dream of Spring,” No. 11), illustrates the principle much more compactly, in fact achieving the three-part format of nostalgia–destruction–attempted return in a strophic setting.¹⁶ The poem has two sets of three stanzas, and in each set of three the format holds. The first stanza reveals sweet dreams, nature in the first set and a beautiful girl in the second, along with the rapture of embracing her, to an appropriately charming melody. In the second stanza the cock crows noisily, jolting the dreamer from his sleep to face the cold and dark or to reflect that it was only a dream. The third stanza deals with the impossibility of returning to the dream state, the realization in the first set that flowers do not blossom in winter and the hopeless prospect of embracing his lover in the second. The same music works equally well for both sets: the crow rudely shatters the beautiful melody of the dream, louder than before, with more declamation than melody in a recitative style, jarring diminished seventh chords, and an obsessively repeated note in broken octaves in the left hand toward the end of the section. In the third section, unlike “Der Lindenbaum,” Schubert gives us no semblance of return, and that follows the new thrust of the text. After the faster tempos of the earlier sections, this one becomes slow, but like the beginning, quiet. The singer gives us a melody, without the charm of the opening section, and the accompaniment, unlike the earlier gentle broken-chord figuration, now has an edge with its somewhat jerky rhythm and octave leaps. Return proves to be out of the question, and like a song such as “Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt” noted in chapter 5 (refer to Example 5.1 in chapter 5), these songs, because of their texts, reveal how a similar three-part format can be understood in instrumental works.

VIOLENCE IN INSTRUMENTAL WORKS

The violent disruptions that take place in songs typically happen quickly, necessary because the songs themselves last only a few minutes. In instrumental movements, some of which last as long as fifteen minutes or perhaps even more, Schubert develops these violent interruptions in much more extended and complex ways, and he does this consistently throughout the last four years of his life, with isolated ex-

amples appearing even earlier.¹⁷ Occasionally he follows the three-part format noted in the songs, for example in the slow movements of the Quintet for Strings in C (D956) and the Piano Sonata in A (D959), but with the range of possibilities in longer works he also has different options for confronting violence. The form need not be limited to three parts, but can be extended, perhaps as a type of rondo (ABACA) or other variants of that in which B and C represent the jarring incursions. In many instances this material will not have a formal function at all, but will come as relatively short attacks at the least expected moments, shocking us as much by their unpredictability as the brutality of the assault. Still others will give us no nostalgic melody at the beginning but will plunge immediately into something highly disturbing, not necessarily in a loud and confrontational way but perhaps at a low dynamic level, possibly disorienting us with something distressing when we expect an easy-going melody.

The different approaches to this in instrumental works suggest a much broader range of interpretive possibilities than one finds in songs, not only going deeper but also probing certain things more effectively than would be possible with the reinforcement of a verbal text. With the presence of a text, such as the song "Frühlingstraum," the music has the primary responsibility of making the text more intelligible, even if that intelligibility evokes something bitter or disparaging. Without a text, especially if he develops the music over an extended period, Schubert can take us into the depths of despair, generating a level of chaos that music by itself can probe with devastating effectiveness because of its ability to violate the musical conventions of order and stability generally in place early in the nineteenth century. Certainly other composers found oppositions of stability and instability in their works, including the other three great composers associated with Vienna. Mozart had even written about musical disorder to his father in describing how the character Osmin should be treated in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*,¹⁸ and along with that he sometimes creates a sense of disorder through the absence of disorder, ironically implying it in overly balanced or symmetrical music. Haydn had no aversion whatever to disorder, representing chaos graphically at the beginning of *The Creation* (although with a fairly orderly disorder) and almost routinely in symphonies as a contrasting element to stability. Beethoven's disorder also generally has a strong organizing element,

such as the middle of the first movement of the *Eroica* Symphony, where meter appears to have broken down, but in fact the existing meter of 3/4 has been replaced by regularly alternating groups of three and two that erase the bar lines.

Schubert's musical disorder wanders into regions unexplored by any of his contemporaries, and one must ask what sets Schubert apart in this, making him seem a much more modern composer than one from the early nineteenth century. Biography undoubtedly plays a role here, although not something as trivial as whether or not he had volcanic outbursts of temper, which the gentle Schubert certainly at times had. Linkages, as noted earlier in this chapter, with the allegorical dream of 1822 seem very promising, especially when considering the variants of rondo form that suggest the bouncing back and forth between home and wandering described in the dream. This may help to explain at least one of his approaches to form when using musical disorder, but it cannot possibly account for the musical material itself—the abyss into which it sinks, and the fact that recovery may or may not happen. In some of these works Schubert probes a level of despair that resists attempts to describe it, certainly going beyond notions of the “wanderer” of the songs and his literary dream. Instead of trying to come up with some sort of psychological language to get at this, I will, in the final section of this book, explore how it permeates some of the fine achievements by recent novelists and filmmakers, who confirm Schubert's current relevance by probing the same issues in their works, with Schubert directly or indirectly woven into the fabric of these works. Elfriede Jelinek may very well be the most articulate apologist for Schubert in our time, and less directly, others such as Stanley Kubrick, Christopher Hampton, and even Woody Allen have much to offer. Since some of the works in question are heard or discussed in these novels and films, I will consider the works themselves briefly here so the reasons for their use by these authors and directors will be better understood.

The String Quartet in D minor (D810) from 1824 remains one of the best known of all Schubert's works, and has been dubbed “The Death and the Maiden” Quartet because of the free adaptation of the theme for the slow movement's theme and variations from the 1817 song “Der Tod und das Mädchen.” Schubert did not give the quartet this name, but the epithet has stuck. The slow movement uses material

from the song associated only with death, and makes a 24-bar theme from it that harmonically goes beyond the song. As if to reinforce the ambiguous character of death, the third movement, a scherzo, borrows directly from one of his German dances (D790, no. 6), and the presto finale also has a dance spirit. Only the first movement plants ominous thoughts in our minds, and here with the helter-skelter pace we have a sense of the desperation of the girl from the song, who shrieks her fear of death. Little changes in this movement to alter the disturbing atmosphere of the opening bars, as moments of lyricism always quickly give way to the underlying tension. If the work had ended with this movement we would have reason to be concerned; the three subsequent movements move beyond the tension.

Something very different happens when Schubert treats the disruption as part of a form, either in three parts or an extension of that, since now the intrusion stands on equal terms with all else. In two works, both written within a couple months of his death, he took the three-part idea as far as it would go, generating not just disruption or intrusion, but complete destruction. In one of these, the slow movement of the Piano Sonata in A (D959), the three parts of the movement are all of almost equal length, and this places the destruction on an entirely different footing. Here Schubert presents a classic nostalgic melody at the beginning, simple in the extreme, vulnerable in its simplicity (Example 6.2). While in many ways vocal, the melody nevertheless remains distinctive to the piano, singing in the best way that the piano can, sometimes with extra voices, but occasionally punctuated with *fp*. Aside from being doubled at times an octave higher, the melody stays within a comfortable vocal range. Otherwise the dynamic level remains at *p* or *pp*, and arch patterns usually receive the distinctive symmetrical hairpin to remind the pianist of the appropriate vocal



Example 6.2.

effect. At the end it becomes static, especially the bass line which has descended to a low F sharp, and the harmonic right hand now gets drawn lower as well, bringing the opening section to a close.

Unlike other works with crashing, disruptive chords, the right hand now moves into a transitional pattern to start the B section, first in sixteenth notes and then shifting that to triplets. The triplets soon give way to thirty-second notes, first in scale passages and then outlining broken chords with increasing tension, sometimes punctuated by diminished chords. In the opening melodic section Schubert resists modulation, staying in the key of F sharp minor, so when the broken chords land in C minor, a tritone (or interval of a diminished fourth) removed from the home key, we find ourselves very quickly in distant territory. Of course we feel the tension, but it continues to build gradually, as does the volume. C minor moves up a third to E minor, perhaps a positive sign, but all sense of tonal stability soon vanishes as the motion becomes increasingly chromatic, some voices repeat the same note, and dynamically it builds to *fortissimo*. If we think it has gone as far off the rails as it can, we are mistaken: a widening rupture between bass and treble takes over, the bass rumbling in a rapid semitone pattern while the treble ascends in chords, as a pianist might do in practicing chord patterns. The bass rumbling has been in thirty-second notes, and after the chords the right hand gives way to sixty-fourth notes.

The roles reverse as the left hand glides over chromatic scales and the right hand hammers out open octaves; things get wilder as the right hand crashes out a chromatic line in octaves, first in triplets and then back to the duple pattern, obliterating any sense of meter—if that still seemed identifiable (Example 6.3). All sense of music as the early nineteenth century understood it has been lost by this point, and no composer would so strikingly challenge our sense of what music is until Ravel a century later, when he represents, for example, the collapse of society in the latter part of *La Valse*. By any musical standards Schubert has lapsed here into total chaos, not the nice kind of Haydn's *Creation* but now a nasty and misshapen kind, light years from the glorious melody of the opening section. That melody has now been destroyed as memory itself has been destroyed by this ear-wrenching assault coming from a piano; no precedent for anything of the sort existed, and no composer would go there again for close to a century.

Example 6.3.

This appears to be the opposite of *Winterreise*, which takes a text of deepest despair, sings a lament, and finds redemption in the act of singing. Now singing too has been destroyed as not a single glimmer of anything vocal happens in all this crashing at the keyboard. Here he leaves us with only the raw, exposed nerve of despair.

We may very well wish for the noise to end, but how can that happen? A few more sharply delineated chords come, spaced by chromatic runs or other figures, and gradually exhaustion sets in, finally leading to a transition back into the original melody from the first part. When the melody returns at bar 159 (Example 6.4), it has become cluttered, no longer with the simplicity of the opening, now with a steady sixteenth-note figure in the left hand and triplets in the right hand, generating tension with two against three. It would seem that the melody has been tainted by the triplets that belong entirely to the B section, and even to some extent by the two against three, also a



Example 6.4.

feature of the B section. When these encumbrances disappear near the end, they are replaced by two bars first of descending chords in triplets and then descending triplets in the bass, taking us down to the low F sharp, from which the melody attempts but cannot rescue the bass; in fact, the melody here temporarily loses its grip on the home key. In the final seven bars we hear rolled chords, all in the bass clef, all grounded on the low F sharp, after reaching *ppp* giving nothing more but open octaves of the F sharp. These concluding bars have attracted less attention than the rest of the movement, but Philip Radcliffe gets it right when he points out that this movement, with its “strange and almost terrifying element . . . ends in profound gloom.”¹⁹

The work written at about the same time as the Sonata in A that also uses a three-part format in its slow movement is the Quintet for Strings in C (D956), but despite the format it could not be more different in its approach. Instead of nostalgia as in the sonata, the quintet offers us a lament, *adagio* instead of *andantino*. The melody sings of sorrow, and in fact resides within the trio of inner voices (second violin, viola, and first cello), in a way that could not be more poignant—combining melody and harmony, marked *espressivo* just in case anyone should imagine it to be something else (Example 6.5). The first violin and cello provide something almost extraneous to the magnificent inner voices, a melodic embellishment in the solo violin moving with a distinctive dotted rhythm and leaps that take it progressively higher. The second cello goes its own way, providing a distinctive harmonic backing, all *pizzicato*. Dynamics vary in the extreme, from *ppp* at some of the most expressive points, to *forte* for more anguished moments. The section comes to a close with a cadence in the home key of E major, preceded by something new in the solo violin—descending scale passages, in the first instance arriving at a heart-rending *appoggiatura*,

Adagio.
pp
espressivo
pp
pp
pp
pizz.
pp

Example 6.5.

all at a *ppp* level. Schubert had written glorious laments before, but none of them rivals the depth of the first part of this movement.

In bar 28 a dramatic change happens immediately after the cadence in E as all five voices trill a unison E, get louder, and draw out the trill with an opening hairpin; this trill appears so out of place and distressing one would not be misguided to think of it as a devil's trill (Example 6.6). The trill lands in bar 29 on a unison F natural, and with the new key signature of four flats, we have gone to the key of F minor, a half step above the home key. Schubert occasionally uses this key change: in the same month he would do it again prominently, in the finale of the Sonata in C minor (D958), shifting in dramatic fashion from C minor to D flat. With this arrival of the key of F minor we have a striking dynamic change to *fortissimo*, brought on of course by the trill. Unlike the destructiveness in the mid-section of the sonata just described, which pushes what the nineteenth century accepted as musical to the edge, nothing of the sort happens in the quintet, as both melody and harmony remain pronounced features of this section. What happens may in fact be even more distressing than the sonata, if one accepts that the first part has been a lament; this section in F minor seems to tear at the fabric of the lament itself, echoing the phrase from song 22 of *Winterreise*: “Klagen ist für Toren” (“lamenting

The image displays a musical score for Example 6.6, consisting of two systems of five staves each. The first system begins at measure 28 and includes markings for 'pizz.', 'arco.', 'cresc.', and 'ff'. The second system begins at measure 30 and includes a large 'DropBooks' watermark. The score features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes, across various staves.

Example 6.6.

is for fools"). This section continues for just over thirty bars, making it slightly longer than the opening section, and it winds down at a *ppp* level.

At the end of that section the key signature changes back to E major, but the original lament, while trying to return, has difficulty finding its voice. The trio has been altered, and the solo violin cannot find its original character. That previous character has been replaced

by passage work, and the second cello runs in counterpoint to this, often in thirty-second notes, suggestive of its role in the middle section. Finally the dotted rhythm of the beginning returns, but the lament has been compromised, having lost its cohesion. With the tonal shifts and return of the trill at the end, it appears that even the possibility of lament has been obliterated, and what sounds like a cry of despair confirms that lamenting really was for fools. At one time the beauty of singing about one's pain could have enacted a transformation, but not at this late date, with Schubert practically writing from his deathbed.

The use of the three-part format appears to be distinctive to instrumental works of Schubert's last few months of life, and the two just described take us into regions previously unexplored. The more extended formats, more or less resembling rondo form, he used more frequently, and these may or may not address issues similar to those of the allegorical "My Dream"; examples of these go back at least to 1825 if not earlier. The Symphony in C, the "Great" (D944), uses something like this format in its second movement, as does the second movement of the String Quartet in G (D887), in this case coming very close to a rondo form. Various other works use a rondo-like format, including the finale of the Piano Sonata in G (D894), written just a few months after the quartet in the same key. Perhaps the other most striking example of the rondo format occurs in the slow movement of the Piano Trio in E flat (D929), started near the end of 1827. While the Quartet in G suggested the possibility of the rondo idea being extended, this trio does it, with this format: ABACABA. Unlike some of the other movements of this type, which find a more or less equal balance in length among the sections, this one makes no such attempt, with the opening A section taking up a full one-third of the movement. Within those sixty-six bars of *andante con moto*, Schubert has the leisure to show the theme with its upward-reaching gesture in all possible ways, introduced by the cello with piano accompaniment (Example 6.7), followed by the melody in the piano with violin and cello accompaniment. The violin eventually introduces a new melody in E flat major—although with some features of the original melody—with an entirely different type of accompaniment by the piano, and soon the cello joins in, first adding a contrapuntal melodic voice, and later taking over the accompaniment that the piano had had in its left hand. In this narrative, then, special attention appears to be given to the roles

Example 6.7.

of the three participants, suggesting an equal relationship in which each can become the leader at any moment, all can share common points of view, or all three can engage in a lively dialogue.

The B section starts with a noisy shock, *fortissimo* in contrast to the previous *pp appassionato* section, but as for the content of the disruption, no clear break occurs. Passages that had been treated gently in the A section now become rude and aggressive in the B section (Example 6.8). Breakdown has occurred entirely from within, as though the beauty of the trio relationship simply could not sustain itself, and that which had been beautiful now becomes repellent, angry, and full of conflict.

When the A material returns, it is but a shadow of its former self, only one-third the length, and in the end lands on a deceptive cadence. The violin and cello try to revive the opening melody, but without success. With the return to A all voices avoid the original melody completely, focusing now strictly on the second melody. At the end of the movement, A makes a final brief return as a coda taken down to *un poco più lento*, bereft of previous motion, and now not even a shadow. The final message seems grim, but the beauty has not entirely evaporated. We are pulled downward and upward at the same moment, and the coda, now more lament than anything else, still offers release not unlike the laments of the past decade and a half.

* * *

The image displays two systems of musical notation, likely for a piano and voice or two pianos. The first system begins at measure 66. The top staff (treble clef) contains a melody with notes G4, A4, B4, C5, and D5, marked with accents and a forte (ff) dynamic. The bottom staff (bass clef) features a bass line with notes G3, F3, E3, and D3, also marked with ff. The piano accompaniment in the middle system (measures 66-70) consists of a dense texture of chords and arpeggiated figures in both hands, with a forte (ff) dynamic. The second system begins at measure 70. The top staff continues the melody with notes D5, C5, B4, A4, and G4, marked with accents and a forte (f) dynamic. The bottom staff continues the bass line with notes G3, F3, E3, and D3, marked with f. The piano accompaniment in the middle system (measures 70-74) consists of a dense texture of chords and arpeggiated figures in both hands, with a forte (f) dynamic.

Example 6.7.

On 19 November 1828 Schubert slipped into a coma from which he would never waken, and the cause of death was noted in documents as *Nervenfieber* (“nervous fever”); syphilis undoubtedly compounded the final assault on his body, as he appeared to be in the tertiary stage of this disease. He died at a mere thirty-one years of age, and had not yet made his true mark on the world. Unlike Haydn and Beethoven, who could bask in some glory in their final years, their achievements fully recognized, Schubert left an immediately perceptible legacy of being little more than a songwriter. Publishers

wanted his songs, and some success with benefit concerts brought notice of certain of his other works. He remained active as a songwriter in his last year, completing the songs published posthumously as *Schwanengesang* (*Swan Song*) and finishing the revisions of *Winterreise*, but barely two months before the end he completed the three last piano sonatas and the String Quintet in C, all monumental works. Two of his finest achievements from the early 1820s, the “Unfinished” Symphony and the Symphony in C, the “Great,” were unknown, and would remain so for over a decade in the case of the latter and more than four decades for the former. His final efforts as a composer lead as far into the depths of despair that a composer could descend, but they also show those sparks of brilliance that confirm how music can overcome these extremes. It would take decades for Schubert’s star to rise, not only as a revered figure of the past, but, to recall the words of the critic Hanslick, as one who lives among us. That finally came, and the effect Schubert has had on artists and audiences, from then until now, has been extraordinary.

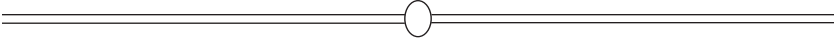
NOTES

1. Otto Biba, for one, believes he did well. See his “Schubert’s Position in Viennese Musical Life,” *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 106–13.
2. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 71.
3. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 103–04.
4. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert’s Letters and Other Writings*, trans. Venetia Savile (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 92.
5. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert’s Letters*, 118.
6. For example, see Maynard Solomon, “Franz Schubert’s ‘My Dream.’” *American Imago* 38 (1981): 137–54.
7. See Susan Wollenberg, “Schubert and the Dream,” *Studi musicali* 9 (1980): 135–50; Peter Pesic, “Schubert’s Dream,” *19th-Century Music* 23 (1999): 136–38; and Charles Fisk, *Returning Cycles: Contexts for the Interpretation of Schubert’s Impromptus and Last Sonatas*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 8–11.
8. See Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, 228; and Maurice J. E. Brown, *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1958), 114–16.
9. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert’s Letters*, 60–61.

-
10. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 75–76.
 11. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 82.
 12. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert's Letters*, 88–89.
 13. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 138.
 14. Susan Youens, *Retracing A Winter's Journey: Schubert's Winterreise* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 290–91.
 15. Youens, *Retracing*, 292–93.
 16. This is discussed by, among others, Youens in *Retracing*, 209–13, and Wollenberg in “Schubert and the Dream,” 137.
 17. This type of treatment has been discussed by Hugh MacDonald in “Schubert’s Volcanic Temper,” *The Musical Times* 99 (1978): 949–52; Michelle Fillion, “‘Schöne Welt, wo bist du?’: Destruction, Epiphany, and Schubert’s Arcadian Dream,” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, November 1992); and William Kinderman, “Wandering Archetypes in Schubert’s Instrumental Music,” *19th-Century Music* 22 (1997): 208–22.
 18. Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 769.
 19. Philip Radcliffe, *Schubert’s Piano Sonatas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971), 47.

DropBooks

Part Two



HIS LEGACY

DropBooks

Chapter Seven

Musicians

DID SCHUBERT BREATHE HIS LAST BREATH with the confidence of knowing that his place in posterity was secure, that he would be regarded as one of the great composers whose works would remain a vital part of musical life two centuries later? He did not leave behind any documents or even letters that give a clear sense of how he thought about himself, as other composers around him certainly did. He could look at Beethoven as one who would surely never suffer from neglect by posterity, directly relating that to the veneration he enjoyed while he lived, which Schubert could observe at first hand; comparing himself with that level of veneration may simply not have occurred to him as being possible, especially since he was barely half Beethoven's age when that towering figure died in 1827. Thirty years old in 1827, Schubert was just slightly younger than Beethoven was when he wrote the "Heiligenstadt Testament," a document surely meant for future generations and with full recognition of greatness and immortality through his output. Haydn lived to a ripe old age, and when his productivity waned after the turn of the century he could spend a few years relishing his reputation, knowing how extraordinary his achievements had been. The tone of modesty apparent earlier in life gave way in his last years as the writers G. A. Griesinger and A. C. Dies interviewed him for their biographies of him, and he took pains to leave them with the right impressions to pass on to posterity.

One suspects that Schubert had some inkling of what his standing would be, but his own actions and comments give little sense of that.

It stands to reason that anyone who could write a composition like the “Great” Symphony in C must surely have had a vision of his own immortality, although the lack of any live performances of this work while he lived may have caused him to doubt that his greatest works would ever be known. In the last year of his life he saw himself very much as a local composer, corresponding with publishers in Leipzig and Mainz in the hope that they could help his reputation spread in Germany. His friends recognized his achievements in song, but since most of them were not musicians, they had no idea of his genius overall as a composer. Their words of regret at his death, often filled with passion, in most cases did not translate into efforts to get his unknown works performed, and even his brother Ferdinand, the closest of all his siblings, sat on his manuscripts far too long before releasing them for performance.

The fact that Schubert surrounded himself with non-musicians served him extraordinarily well. Some composers appeal in a strong way to other musicians, but in some cases have very little to say to non-musicians. We may study these composers now with interest in their influence on others or their historical standing, but by and large we do not listen to their music. Schubert very clearly does not fall into this category, and in his case we can often see what he does have to say connected with the texts of poets, working both in vocal and instrumental music. Not only does Schubert’s voice resonate with a broad audience, but it has had a very special attraction to people in certain other fields, especially writers and more recently filmmakers, who have recognized parallels between him and themselves, and have imbued their own works with his in the strongest possible way. Some of these artists, including writers, filmmakers, and one painter, are the subject of the remaining chapters.

Two centuries after Schubert lived we can enjoy this infusion of his energy into other artists’ works, in some cases very recent ones, but had it not been for musicians, we may have lost him altogether. The music that Schubert managed to get published during his lifetime—especially the songs—continued to be performed in the decades after his death, but the breadth of his musicianship remained unknown until other composers began to discover it, and in so doing felt they were becoming personally acquainted with him. We can thank Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt, and a few others for making the discoveries and

immediately recognizing the worth of the music, and then bringing these instrumental works into public view through performances and music journalism. These performances, as we know from Hanslick and others, had a stunning effect on audiences, and once the works became part of the repertoire, they never left. By the end of the century Schubert had achieved immortality, with his works performed as much as any other great composer of the past,¹ and his life celebrated on the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth in Vienna as no other composer had ever been acclaimed. Along with live performances, the new technology of the twentieth century that allowed recordings to be made soon gave Schubert a whole new audience and in fact, a large one. Anyone checking the Schubert section at a major record shop will discover that few other composers have the same number of CDs available, and this was true of the earlier modes of recording as well. We also have a full range of solo artists performing Schubert, from the great masters of the past to the youngest performers of the present, and the same is true of orchestras, string quartets, and other ensembles. Over the years various composers, such as Liszt, Brahms, and Britten, have been some of the most avid and perceptive performers of Schubert; the attitude of these composers and others to Schubert reveals one of the most important aspects of “our Schubert.”

COMPOSERS

During the roughly seven decades of the nineteenth century following Schubert's death in 1828, composers in many ways found themselves looking at him in a different way than Schubert would have looked at composers before himself. In part this was because of the new fascination with music of the past. If new music had to compete with old music, then composers would have to be careful about the extent to which their new music sounded like previous music or applied old procedures; in short, influence became a matter of anxiety that it had not been before. Since nineteenth-century composers did not feel the need to invent music as though the medium did not exist, as some more recent composers have been inclined to do, of course influences did creep in, and some composers dealt with this much better than others. Great composers left their mark on the musical world, and the

next generation had to take note of their achievements, sometimes passed along through teachers or often just through general awareness, and in some cases the anxiety about being original in the face of the past could yield little but inertia. Brahms seemed especially susceptible to this, struggling with the influence of Beethoven on his symphonies. In some cases composers dreaded being compared with earlier composers to the extent that they either publicly or privately set up different types of camouflage intended to put us off the track of recognizing these influences.

Even though Schubert did not invent song any more than Haydn did the symphony, his achievement here surpassed that of any composer before him and his output left a mark that defined him as the standard to which any songwriter who followed him would have to aspire. All subsequent German composers, including Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Wolf, Mahler, and others, as well as composers from other countries, had to measure themselves against this standard, and some did it more graciously than others.

Music scholars have had a longstanding fascination with the study of influence, and perhaps the medium itself accounts at least in part for this. If composers do not each in turn have to invent the wheel, they will use procedures that someone else has used, and if they adapt these and somehow go beyond them, progress will appear to have occurred. The kinds of problems that literary critics have with this, as addressed for example in *The Anxiety of Influence* by Harold Bloom, who contends that the strongest poetic influence may be of one writer misreading another,² have until very recently been non-issues in musical studies. The influence of Schubert on subsequent composers has by and large been scrutinized very thoroughly.³ These studies of influence, while often admirably revealing aspects of style and procedures that find their way from Schubert to another composer, do not necessarily tell us much about how that composer actually felt about Schubert, aside from the assumption that the influence probably denotes some sort of admiration. I am more interested in the passion that others have felt for him or the way that some have regarded him as a colleague still among them, able to commune with them on matters of the greatest importance, as though he had lived to a ripe old age and stayed in their midst.

The outstanding composers of the nineteenth century could look back at Schubert without being threatened by him or afraid that oth-

ers would detect the points of influence, and could in fact embrace him as a musical colleague whose works kept them in touch with him. Robert Schumann certainly looked at Schubert in this way, and as the founder and editor of the journal *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (*New Journal of Music*), which quickly gained a wide circulation, he could make assertions that the rest of the musical world would take seriously. This was not dry criticism; he identified with Schubert as a friend and colleague, sometimes losing sight of analysis when his language drifted more toward adulation. Schubert's death affected the young Schumann deeply, throwing him into such agitation when he learned of it in November 1828 that he "sobbed the whole night long."⁴ More importantly, in a letter less than a year later to Friedrich Wieck, his teacher and the father of his future wife Clara, he embraced the recently deceased composer as "his 'one and only Schubert.'"⁵ Schumann immediately recognized Schubert's ability to decrease the distance between himself and his performing or listening audience, comparing it to the experience of reading a novel; Schumann attempted to achieve a similar effect with the narrative approach to many of his own works. No novelist spoke to Schumann more directly than Jean Paul, the pseudonym for Johann Paul Friedrich Richter, and shortly before Schubert died, Schumann wrote about Schubert's ability to express Jean Paul in tones. More importantly, as I noted in the Introduction, this shaped Schumann's experience of reading Schubert at the piano: "When I play Schubert, it's as if I were reading a novel composed by Jean Paul."⁶

In his numerous critical essays in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on various of Schubert's works, Schumann also presented a strain of writing that stressed the way Schubert could touch his listeners in gripping and intimate ways; in his first such review in 1834 Schumann promised "to acquaint our readers, little by little, with all the works of this rich spirit."⁷ He lived up to this promise of revealing his idol, and in one essay tried to get at the reason Schubert affects us so directly and deeply; he put this in the context of youth, where emotions can be more readily aroused:

a youthful spirit is always best understood by youth. . . . So Schubert will always be the favorite of young people. He gives what they desire: an overflowing heart, bold ideas, rash actions. He speaks of

what they love best: romantic tales, knights, maidens, and adventures. . . . In this way he gives wings to the player's own imagination, as no other composer can but Beethoven. Because his idiosyncrasies are easily reproduced, one is always tempted to imitate him, to develop a thousand ideas he has only intimated. This is how he is, and this is why his effect will be lasting.⁸

Schumann placed special emphasis on the potency of the emotions Schubert awakens, and the way Schubert speaks to us so directly through his music that it seems as though he makes his own presence felt. This clearly applies to the first two Op. 142 impromptus (D935): “Few authors leave their seal so indelibly stamped on their works as he; every page of the first two impromptus whispers ‘Franz Schubert’—as we know him in his numberless moods, as he charms us, deceives us, and captivates us again, so we find him here.”⁹ The same can be said of the Piano Trio in E flat, in which the first movement “is a product of deep anger and boundless longing,” while the slow movement “is a sign intensified to the point of an anguished cry of the heart.”¹⁰ Even his frequent comparisons of Schubert with Beethoven, in which Schubert appears to him to be more feminine than the masculine Beethoven, should not necessarily be taken as something pejorative (more on this in chapter 8). Along with his essays, Schumann also played an important role in getting some of Schubert's still-unknown works performed posthumously.

Schumann's dear friend and colleague Felix Mendelssohn shared his sentiments about Schubert, and he also did his part to get Schubert's music performed; as conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra he presented the world premiere of the “Great” Symphony in C Major in 1839, and he can take credit for it being performed in London as well. Writing to Schubert's brother Ferdinand, immediately after the premiere, Mendelssohn tried to put into words the sensation it had created:

You have given us all great and lively pleasure by sending your brother's two symphonies [both symphonies in C major]. They arrived so late that it was only possible for us to perform one of them, as only the last of our subscription concerts remained to be given. Because the Symphony no. 7, of which you only sent the score, appeared to be quite exceptionally distinguished and because I thought it would

make a greater appeal here than the other one, I had it quickly copied and we performed it last Thursday, the 21st, at the final concert, with general and very enthusiastic applause. There was great and sustained applause after each movement and, more important than that, all the musicians in the orchestra were moved and delighted by the splendid work. It has had more success than most of the new works during the last four years, and we are going to repeat it at the very beginning of the next series of concerts. Thank you once more most cordially for the pleasure you have given us through this. If only you had been at the performance; I think you would have been pleased with it and, at any rate, the Symphony can certainly never be played with more love than it was here.¹¹

At this time the “Unfinished” Symphony and the sketch of the Symphony in E (D729) remained unknown, accounting for Mendelssohn’s reference to the “Great” as the seventh.

Ferdinand Schubert sent the sketch for the Symphony in E, now known as the Seventh, to Mendelssohn in March 1845 as a gift, and Mendelssohn’s reply of 22 March 1845 to Ferdinand gives us the best possible indicator of how he saw Schubert as a person with whom he could relate and commune—as one among us:

Yesterday I received, through Dr. Härtel, the symphony sketch of your brother, of which you have made me the possessor. What joy you afford me through so beautiful, so precious a gift, how deeply grateful I am to you for this remembrance of the late master, how honoured I feel that you wished to assign just to me such an important example, unfinished though it is, of his posthumous works. . . . Believe me that I know how to appreciate the magnificent gift at its full worth, that you could have given it to no one to whom it would have given greater joy or who would have been more genuinely grateful to you for it! Indeed, it seems to me as if, through the very incompleteness of the work, through the scattered, half-finished indications, I got to know your brother personally, and more closely and more intimately than I could have done through a completed piece. It is as though I saw him there working in his room, and this delight I owe entirely to your unexpected great favour and kindness.¹²

This letter became available three years later for all the world to see, published in Luib’s *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*.

Franz Liszt spent about eighteen months in Vienna while Schubert was still alive, studying with Schubert's old teacher Salieri, and while Liszt certainly heard about Schubert from Salieri and through others, the two composers never actually met. Liszt rediscovered Schubert about a decade later when he returned to Vienna, now as a world-famous pianist, to raise money for flood victims in Hungary devastated by the great Danube flood of 1838. The extraordinary success of these charity concerts can at least in part be attributed to some of the music Liszt performed in Vienna, twenty-eight transcriptions of songs by Schubert, including "Auf dem Wasser zu singen," "Erlkönig," "Horch, horch die Lerch!," and "Ave Maria."¹³ This proved to be no mere exercise in ingratiating toward the Viennese, but a labor of love, as Liszt in the next few years kept making more of these transcriptions (sometimes more as paraphrases); in the end he made about sixty of them, not counting later orchestral versions. By 1841 Liszt took pleasure in divulging that, next to Beethoven, he most admired Schubert.¹⁴

Liszt's words about these two composers may not reflect the complete truth, since both his output and acts of veneration seem to tilt the balance toward Schubert. Much more than through their common teacher, Salieri, Liszt discovered Schubert's music in Paris, where he resided in 1828, from Chrétien Urhan, a violinist and composer who incorporated themes by Schubert into his own works. Long before Liszt went to Vienna in 1838 he therefore knew many of Schubert's songs well, and his passion for Schubert developed in Paris. In one letter he wrote that "Our pianists scarcely realize what a glorious treasure they have in Schubert's piano compositions," and he went so far as to call Schubert "my cherished hero."¹⁵ To his own students he heartily recommended they play Schubert, and to make this possible he published an edition of Schubert's piano music. The transcriptions, certainly with passages of virtuosity, became very much a part of Liszt's repertoire, with the virtuosity a facet of the composer's musical language, never a matter of vain display. As Alan Walker puts it,

. . . these Schubert transcriptions reveal Liszt's total command of the keyboard. . . . Transcription is more difficult than paraphrase. In a paraphrase, the arranger is free to vary the original, to weave his own fantasies around it, to go where he will. This is not so in a transcription. The transcription must be obedient—a true copy of the original; it binds the transcriber to it, making him its slave. And

there is the paradox. Only the greatest master is capable of becoming the perfect slave.¹⁶

His transcriptions did not end with the songs, but also include his piano concerto version of the “Wanderer” Fantasy, in a sense allowing Schubert to have a work in the concerto repertoire. Schumann also recognized the potential for orchestration in that work, commenting that Schubert “tried to summon up an entire orchestra with only two hands.”¹⁷ Liszt also planned an arrangement of the “Great” Symphony, as he informed the publisher Breitkopf and Härtel in 1859, not unlike his arrangements of Beethoven’s symphonies, but that project did not materialize.¹⁸

Nothing, though, can surpass the veneration that Liszt showed for Schubert more than his performance of *Alfonso und Estrella*, an opera whose music Liszt only moderately liked, unlike the libretto, which he thought dreadful. Franz Schober, working for a time as Liszt’s secretary in Weimar, persuaded Liszt to mount the performance; Liszt agreed, provided Schober’s libretto be replaced. Perhaps not wishing to offend Schober, Liszt started making arrangements to premiere the opera in Paris, where a new French libretto could replace Schober’s. The French arrangement simply did not happen, and so in 1854, four years after considering it, Liszt conducted the performance in Weimar; he never regarded the opera as having anything more than historical interest, and considered himself to be carrying out an act of veneration to the composer.¹⁹ Much effort went into this production, which reached the stage on 24 June. Since nothing came of the plan to provide a new libretto, Liszt wrote an article that appeared in Schumann’s *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 1 September 1854, which, while praising Schubert and his music for the opera, explained some of the weaknesses of the opera, especially the libretto.²⁰ One cannot imagine Liszt putting the time and energy into such a project, accomplishing what Schubert could not in his lifetime, without a complete sense of commitment to its composer.

Johannes Brahms shared the feeling of love that Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Liszt had for Schubert, and he emphasized his sincerity of feeling in a letter to Adolf Schubring in June 1863 after his own first visit to Vienna:

My love for Schubert is a very serious one, probably because it is no fleeting fancy. Where is genius like his, which soars heavenwards

so boldly and surely, where we see the few supreme ones enthroned. He is to me like a son of the gods, playing with Jupiter's thunder, and also occasionally handling it oddly. But he plays in a region, at a height, which others can never soar to [. . . and] now I hope that we shall presently be able to chat about this darling of the gods.²¹

Brahms's admiration for Schubert extended to great lengths; as a performer he often played works by Schubert in public and private concerts, and conducted both choral and orchestral works as well as orchestral arrangements of Schubert's songs, prepared by himself. Some of these song arrangements were purely for orchestra, while others he wrote as songs to be sung with orchestral accompaniment. One of his most long-lasting Schubert achievements was his participation in the complete edition of Schubert's works, an attempt to make all the works by the composer available in an authoritative score. Despite the limitations of editorial practice and the inevitability of mistakes involving this type of project in the nineteenth century, the *Franz Schubert's Werke*, published by Breitkopf and Härtel, has served us very well; it is being replaced of course by the new still-in-progress edition started in the twentieth century. Brahms himself, thinking more as a composer than editor, had doubts about the wisdom of making everything available, believing that some would be best left out of public scrutiny (he felt the same about some of his own works). This was a massive undertaking, and fourteen years of his life centered on the edition; as a result the world has enjoyed access to almost all of Schubert's music.²² Clearly Schubert had a strong influence on Brahms as a composer, not only on his songs but also on his instrumental works, perhaps as much if not more than Beethoven, and this has been ably demonstrated by James Webster and Robert Pascall.²³

Some of Brahms's younger contemporaries had much more difficulty looking back to Schubert with the kind of generosity of spirit that Brahms had. As far as song is concerned, Brahms happily recognized Schubert's mastery:

The true successor to Beethoven is not Mendelssohn, also not Schumann, but Schubert. It is unbelievable, how much music he put into his songs. No other composer understands correct declamation as well as he does. The best comes from him in so obvious a

manner that it could not be otherwise. For example, the beginning of *Winterreise*: “Fremd bin ich eingezogen.” Such as we would stress the second syllable; in Schubert, it flows by beautifully. How he ennobled not only older verse but the newest poetry, that of Platen, Rückert, and Heine. He rightly found subjects for music in poems by Schlegel that other composers had disregarded. The way he set a ghasel by Platen is simply marvelous. We have also tried to do likewise, but measured against Schubert, it’s all bungling.²⁴

Similarly Antonin Dvořák, referring to Schubert’s symphonies, stated, “The more I study them, the more I marvel.”²⁵ Hugo Wolf could muster no such generosity, as he suffered the anxiety of influence much more than others did. Susan Youens notes he did not always react well when his friends compared him with Schubert; he tried to cope with the long shadow cast by Schubert: “They fairly threaten me with Schubert, but I cannot keep my mouth shut because a man of genius lived before me and wrote splendid songs.”²⁶ It frustrated him that he had the misfortune to come after Schubert, but all the same he loved his predecessor’s songs.²⁷

Gustav Mahler, born in the same year as Wolf, had even fewer compliments for Schubert; he could not tolerate what he regarded as endless repetition in Schubert’s music, fueling one of the twentieth-century notions about Schubert that he could not develop anything. He informed Natalie Bauer-Lechner in 1900, with inaccurate numbers, that

Today I have read through all of Schubert’s chamber music. Out of twelve works, you’ll find at most four good ones. Likewise, in 800 songs perhaps 80 are altogether lovely—which is enough in any case. But if only he hadn’t turned out all this insignificant stuff that almost makes you want to deny his talent, no matter how enraptured you are with the rest. It’s because his technique lags so far behind his feeling and invention. How easy he makes things for himself in developments! Six sequences follow one after another and then still one more in a different key. No working out, no artistically realized reshaping of his ideas. Instead of that he repeats himself so much that you could cut half the piece without hurting it.²⁸

Other similar deprecations can be found, despite the fact that he happily worked with Julius Epstein, one of the leading Schubertians of the

time, at the Vienna Conservatory, who advanced Schubert's music as an editor and performer. Mahler may have been strategically grudging in his praise of Schubert, considering certain notable similarities that can be found in their music. Youens ably demonstrates a strong parallel between the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* ("Song of a Wayfarer") and *Winterreise*, and she wonders why Mahler did not acknowledge the influence, speculating that "the composer who would take unto himself and then alter a masterpiece by Schubert might not be willing to proclaim the fact to himself, much less the outside world."²⁹ If so, Mahler would certainly not be the only composer to remain mum on that type of matter or even create a diversion to deflect attention from a possible influence; the music itself may be a type of backhanded compliment.

In the twentieth century a wide range of musical homages or acknowledgments to Schubert can be found, and generally the composers making them are less troubled by issues of influence at least partly because their musical styles bear little resemblance to Schubert's. From composers of the "second Viennese school" one should not be surprised to find these acts of veneration, certainly from Arnold Schoenberg, Anton Webern, and Alban Berg. Both Schoenberg and Webern made arrangements of works by Schubert, and other more complex aspects of musical influence can be traced in their works.³⁰ Benjamin Britten surely stands as a great Schubertian, with small acts of homage such as completing Schubert's unfinished song "Gretchen's Bitte" ("Gretchen's Retreat," D564), but most prominently in his activity as a Schubert performer, as noted in the next section. More recent composers in the postmodern camp still acknowledge their debt to Schubert, such as György Ligeti, who claimed the String Quartet in G (D 887) as "a crucial influence on [his] current style."³¹ Similarly Luciano Berio's *Rendering* is based on the sketches for the Symphony in D (D936a), and other connections exist in Edison Denisov's *Lazarus* as well as John Harbison's *November 19, 1828*, a piano quartet (with a title giving the date of Schubert's death).³² Going even further into postmodernism, George Crumb based his "Image 6: *Pavana lachrymae*" from *Black Angels*, *Thirteen Images from the Dark Land*, for *Electric String Quartet*, finished on Friday the 13th, March 1970, on Schubert's second movement from the "Death and the Maiden" Quartet. The potential Crumb recognized here runs somewhat parallel to

Ariel Dorfman's in his play *Death and the Maiden*, to be discussed in chapter 9. This is no archaic reference to a long-dead composer, but instead reflects how relevant Schubert's music remains, crossing over from the early nineteenth century through modernism to some of the most leading edge, postmodern thought.

PERFORMERS

In the mid-1970s, while living in England, I had an opportunity to attend a performance given by Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau at the Royal Albert Hall, so I purchased my ticket without hesitation, although not because I was a fan. In fact, I went to this recital entirely prepared to dislike it, not because he was giving an all-Wolf program but because I had heard just about every recording he had made, and his approach to lieder singing simply did not appeal to me. It struck me that his wide expressive range on recordings, from *sotto voce* whispering to shouting, with everything possible between these, simply would not work in a concert hall. This was not just any venue but the Albert Hall, possibly the largest concert hall in the world, with at least twice the capacity of most opera houses. How, I wondered, could his whispers possibly fill this cavernous space, reaching the twentieth row, let alone the back row; the house was full, and I commiserated with those who would not be able to hear.

My first surprise was to see him walk across the stage with pianist Wolfgang Sawallisch, who, while not a small man, was simply dwarfed by Fischer-Dieskau, a giant of man with a chest like a barrel. When he sang I could not believe my ears; I recognized the distinctive quality of this voice, but not the singer I knew from the recordings. Without the slightest bit of difficulty his voice filled this massive hall, no doubt making those in the back row especially happy, and while he sang with a large, expressive range, I heard a singer very different from the one in the recording studio, and I vastly preferred this one. My negative predisposition arose from a longstanding admiration of Aksel Schiøtz, awakened by an intimate familiarity with his recordings.³³ For four decades my bible of lieder singing has been Schiøtz's 1945 recording of *Die schöne Müllerin*, with pianist Gerald Moore. Schiøtz's lieder singing, aside from the great beauty of his voice, was distinguished

by his very narrow expressive range and the extraordinary subtlety he found within that, resulting in a profound integrity and commitment to composers' requests—exactly what Leopold Sonnleithner had claimed about the best Schubert performers. Schiøtz assumed that Schubert knew what he wanted, and that the singer should be putty in the composer's hands, not going on an ego trip or trying to invent new emotions with operatic histrionics. If the singer can get out of the way and let Schubert come through, the performance will not only be most satisfactory, but most exciting, and one can experience the subtlety of what Schubert had in mind. Sonnleithner was right: no performance of *Die schöne Müllerin* (or Schumann's *Dichterliebe* and others) since 1945 has surpassed Schiøtz's; not only does it afford the pleasure of hearing a great voice, but it presents Schubert's work with a level of integrity one does not find to the same degree elsewhere.

In 1970 Schiøtz wrote a book called *The Singer and His Art*, and the size of his section on Schubert far exceeds that dedicated to any other composer.³⁴ As one would expect, he has much to say about *Die schöne Müllerin*, but he writes even more about *Winterreise*, a work he believed singers should not attempt unless they have experienced genuine suffering in their lives. He gained that qualification for himself in extraordinary ways: "It was not until I had experienced events of the most difficult kinds—such as my difficult decision whether to become a teacher or a singer, the Nazi occupation of Denmark, which closed the world to me, and serious surgery, which forced me to silence for a couple of years—that I finally performed the *Winterreise* cycle."³⁵ The surgery, following a stroke, should have put an end to his career in 1945, since it left him paralyzed on one side of his face and neck; but with the encouragement of friends and loved ones he relearned how to sing, becoming a baritone instead of a tenor, ending up with a voice that Moore described as "a precious jewel," that had become "a rough and uncut stone."³⁶ While teaching at the University of Minnesota and later the University of Toronto in the late 1960s, Schiøtz gave numerous master classes and performances throughout North America, and I had the privilege to attend one of these, which included a performance of *Winterreise*. Because of the paralysis it was painful to watch, and the voice sounded worse than Moore described it; everyone in the audience understood the courage it took for him to perform, and that despite the ungainly sight and sound they would

probably never experience this work as profoundly again.³⁷ He could be ruthless in a master class, but to my surprise his book is filled with a generosity of spirit when it comes to Fischer-Dieskau, since most often he recommends that students should listen to the German's recordings of songs from *Winterreise*.

Schiøtz certainly had an edge, and he especially enjoyed targeting singers who perform Schubert as a "singer's number," or in a theatrical manner:

The operatic singer often thinks that he has to compensate for all the props of the operatic stage, which are lacking on the concert stage. He regards the piano introduction merely as a time for the audience to admire his formal attire and his appearance in general. He makes it quite clear that the introduction has nothing to do with the song. A long *ritardando* and *fermata* at the end of the introduction allow him time to pull himself together, fill his chest, take a step forward and then. . . . He pays not the slightest attention to the "background music," which is all the piano part is to him. All that counts is how his own voice sounds and how he impresses the audience; the poor accompanist and poor Schubert suffer.³⁸

Fortunately not all singers fall into this category: "marvelous musical taste is shown by Heinrich Schlusnus, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, and Fritz Wunderlich." Clearly it took me longer to discover this about Fischer-Dieskau than it did Schiøtz, that despite their very different approaches to the expressive range, they had the same sense of integrity and commitment to Schubert. Both, of course, worked extensively with Gerald Moore. One of the great dangers for young singers is to attempt to emulate Fischer-Dieskau, whose voice in some respects was almost a freak of nature, entirely unique and idiomatic, more or less defying imitation. These imitators often end up with histrionics instead of integrity since the attempt to apply that type of expressiveness without the distinctive voice simply leads down the wrong path. Happily, some currently active singers continue to sing this repertoire with integrity.

Having made claims about Schubert the singer in chapter 2, and given that his distinctive use of certain expression marks backs this up, it would be useful to consider a number of performers over the past century to see how they respond to these expression marks. It

also provides an opportunity to look at some of the great performers of Schubert's music, both of the distant past and the present, and in fact to consider the state of Schubert performance in the present in relation to the standards that have been set. I will start with singers, noting briefly what some have done with one song from *Die schöne Müllerin* and a few songs from *Winterreise*, selecting songs that hopefully give a range of possibilities. The singers of course work with pianists, and the approaches of these pianists will be taken into account, since the principles discussed in chapter 2 also apply to instrumentalists. I then take this further to include one of the impromptus for piano, again to see to what extent the vocal principle has been applied.

“DER NEUGIERIGE” FROM *DIE SCHÖNE MÜLLERIN*

The sixth song from *Die schöne Müllerin*, “Der Neugierige” (“The Curious One”), turns out to be a useful one to consider for both singer and pianist because of its special challenges that arise from the slow tempo (starting *langsam* and changing to *sehr langsam*), the dynamic level (usually *pp* and never exceeding *p*), and the often almost vulnerable exposure of some lines. If either singer or pianist has disagreeable mannerisms, they are likely to show in this song. The first real test for the pianist comes at the beginning of bar 4 (Example 7.1), with a chord that Schubert marks with a wedge, where a dynamic accent will ruin the effect; other similar challenges can be found throughout the song, with the use of symmetrical hairpins in the piano part. Schubert seldom puts wedges in the voice part in this cycle, but one can be

Example 7.1.

Example 7.2.

found at bar 28, over the word “ein” (“one”), referring to the one little word, “yes” or “no,” on which the miller’s entire world (or at least love life) hangs (Example 7.2). I argue in chapter 2 that none of these signs refer to dynamic accents or change; for that, Schubert writes out *cresc.* at two points in this song, or indicates *sf* or *fz* as he does in many other songs.

Some of the mannerisms that we may find objectionable now, such as wildly fluctuating tempos, separating right and left hands, or singers doing *glissandi* on leaps, were simply standard practice earlier in the twentieth century; this is nowhere as evident as in Lotte Lehmann’s (and Paul Ulanowsky’s) recording from 1942. In contrast, Gerhard Hüsch, with Hans Udo Müller, does much less of this in 1935, although he cannot resist a few striking tempo changes. Curiously Lehmann seemed to think that a song with five strophes would be tedious, as in the opening “Das Wanderer,” so she cuts two of them, the second and third. One may be tempted here to think of the word “Müller” changed to “Singer” in the first strophe: “Das muss ein schlechter Müller sein, dem niemals fiel das. . . .” (“A sorry miller he would be who never felt. . . .”). Generally in modern performances one does not find *glissandi*, hand separation, or drastic tempo changes.

The treatment of the expression marks varies considerably in modern performances, not necessarily with consistent treatment throughout the song. The chord at bar 4 receives a dynamic accent in recordings by Fritz Wunderlich and Hubert Giesen (although not excessive), Siegfried Lorenz and Normal Shetler, Lois Marshall and Greta Kraus,

and most noisily by Thierry Felix and Paul Badura-Skoda; in this recording Badura-Skoda plays a Conrad Graf Hammerflügel from circa 1825. Others give it no dynamic accent at all but treat it as a vocal gesture, what Gerald Moore calls a temporal accent; Moore, as one would expect, does this in his recordings with Fischer-Dieskau and Aksel Schiøtz. Others do the same, such as Peter Schreier and Walter Olbertz, Gerard Souzay and Dalton Baldwin, and perhaps most sensitively by Håkan Hagegård and Emanuel Ax.

Most singers know exactly what to do with the wedge on the word “ein” (“one”), but not all. Schreier, for one, sings it superbly, with no hint of a dynamic accent. Some singers, though, have not grasped that the high F sharp should not be belted out, as happens in the performances of Marshall, Souzay, and Wunderlich. The dynamic level for the entire section remains quiet (all of it *pp* in the piano part), and the way to emphasize this all-important word should be with the appropriate broadening as it leaps into the upper register. It is, after all, a “Wörtchen” (“little word”), not a clap of thunder. Especially fine treatment of this, aside from Schreier, comes from Fischer-Dieskau, Hagegård, Lorenz, and of course Schiøtz. Schiøtz’s recording with Moore from 1945 as well as his 1939 recording of this song with Herman D. Koppel, chronologically belong to the Hüsch and Lehmann era, and some mannerisms creep in, such as hints of *glissandi*. In spirit, his performance of the cycle does not belong to that era, but in fact set the standard for singers ever since, a standard that, along with the standard set by Gerald Moore, has not been surpassed. Because of Schiøtz’s exceptionally short singing career he did not become a household name, even in Denmark where he returned for the last few years of his life. I can imagine no finer Schubertian than Schiøtz, and can only lament that his CDs have not stayed on shop shelves with those of the singers whose careers lasted for decades.

WINTERREISE

In *Winterreise*, one of the best vocal tests for the pianist comes at the beginning of song fourteen, “Der greise Kopf” (“The Grey [frost-covered] Head”), with the rising right-hand opening creating a

similar arch shape to the opening vocal line noted in chapter 2 (see Example 2.1). Schubert wants the pianist to sing this line, with the suitable rising gesture at the top, and the symmetrical hairpins spell this out for the pianist. *Winterreise* has been recorded many dozens of times, but one finds very few pianists prepared to comply at this point, something they could easily grasp if they would listen to how the singer approaches and executes the high notes in the matching phrase that follows. In recordings by Fischer-Dieskau, Hermann Prey, Peter Pears, Hans Hotter, Lois Marshall, Brigitte Fassbaender, and Matthias Goerne, only Fassbaender—apparently going for an operatic sound—sings an accent at the top, and it sounds entirely out of place. Some singers achieve exceptional beauty on this high note, certainly Fischer-Dieskau in his early recordings, and also Prey, Hotter, and Goerne in the recording of his live Wigmore Hall performance in 2004. Most of their pianists, though, give it a big accent, treating the hairpins as dynamic indicators, creating something very incongruous with what the singer does. One is especially surprised to hear Gerald Moore doing this in his recording with Fischer-Dieskau in 1955 and 1963, considering that he does not treat it dynamically with Hotter when they recorded it earlier. The only other Fischer-Dieskau accompanist to play it vocally is Daniel Barenboim in their 1980 recording. In fact, the most pleasing opening to this song in the various Fischer-Dieskau recordings comes in the first, a live performance in 1953 in Berlin with Hertha Klust. Of all the performances the most disappointing treatment is Brendel's in 2004, considering how beautifully Goerne sings the phrase, while Hotter and Moore give the most satisfying performance.

A number of singers have recorded *Winterreise* more than once, but no one as often as Fischer-Dieskau, over a span covering almost three and a half decades. I will briefly note six of these, from 1953 (Klust), 1955 (Moore), 1963 (Moore), 1966 (Jorg Demus), 1980 (Barenboim), and 1986 (Brendel), focusing on the twelfth song, "Einsamkeit" ("Loneliness"). How one should perform this song presents special challenges because of a great amount of editorial uncertainty; the problem started with Schubert's editor Haslinger, who had an engraver's copy made that deviated significantly from Schubert's autograph score, including the key change from D minor to B minor, a number of changed notes, and striking changes to the expression

marks. I have argued elsewhere (including chapter 2) that Schubert got it right in his autograph, and that every change in the engraver's copy simply made matters worse, in some cases resulting in things that make no musical sense.³⁹ Published versions generally go with the engraver's copy, although even the most meticulous editors have had qualms about accepting that version outright, and over time new editions have appeared that steer it closer to Schubert's original. The most interesting of these is the 1975 Peters/Litolff edition, edited by none other than Fischer-Dieskau in collaboration with Elmar Budde. One presumes that for the Barenboim and Brendel recordings, Fischer-Dieskau used his own edition, which corrects the most baffling errors that remain in all the other scores.

As in "Der Neugierige," Schubert uses the wedge in the vocal line of "Einsamkeit"; it occurs four times in this song but always on the same word: "so." A dynamic accent on this word adds nothing; each time "so" occurs it creates a dissonance with the chord that accompanies it, and a slight broadening emphasizes the dissonance. Over the years Fischer-Dieskau changed his approach to "so," treating it as a dynamic accent in 1953, but he did not do so to such an extent in 1955 with Moore. In the 1963 recording with Moore he completely avoids the dynamic accent and broadens it slightly to give the appropriate dissonant emphasis in relation to the chord. He generally continues this in later recordings, especially the 1980 one with Barenboim, although in 1986 with Brendel he goes back to some dynamic emphasis. Other singers, including Hotter, Prey, and Goerne, avoid the dynamic accent on "so" and give a little broadening.

In the last part of the song the treatment of the word "elend," noted in chapter 2, requires singer and pianist to perform in a way contrary to the score if it has been derived from the engraver's copy. Each time "elend" occurs, at bars 32–33 and 44–45, Schubert placed a wedge to coincide with the first syllable of the word in his autograph, the wedge falling on the second beat of the bar (and the bars preceding these phrases) (see Example 2.3). In the engraver's copy the accents have been moved to the first beat, on the word "ich," which no singer would give more emphasis than "elend" ("wretched"). In fact, no singer that I have heard sings it the way it is written in most scores, and the pianist invariably goes along with the singer, putting the time emphasis on the second beat. Fischer-Dieskau corrects this in his 1975 edition, return-

ing to what Schubert put in his autograph, thus bringing the score into line with the only way this can be performed. Since the autograph had it right in the first place, it would make most sense to use the autograph instead of the usual published scores, and the autograph is readily available in both the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Schubert collected works. Happily, at least one recording, by Peter Pears and Benjamin Britten, uses the autograph with all the original notes and expression marks; one suspects that this was Britten's choice, and this 1965 recording stands as a strong indicator of his great musicianship and love of Schubert. With numerous fine recordings from the past, it may be daunting for performers to tackle this cycle, but the excellence of the recording of Matthias Goerne's 2004 live performance confirms that the great tradition will continue.

IMPROMPTU IN G FLAT

In chapter 5 I described the Impromptu in G flat as a song without words, specifically with a vocal line notated with upward stems, so one of course is interested in how pianists treat it from a vocal point of view. Aside from the prominent melody it also has a simple left hand accompaniment and an active inner voice generally consisting of broken chord figuration. Schubert has provided numerous symmetrical hairpins at key points throughout, usually paralleling arch shapes in the vocal line, and some wedges as well; all performers seem in agreement that these signs have temporal instead of dynamic implications, slightly broadening at the points marked. I include the following pianists in this mini Impromptu marathon: Edwin Fischer, Artur Schnabel, Artur Schnabel, Claudio Arrau, Clifford Curzon, Wilhelm Kempff, Alfred Brendel, and András Schiff.

The discrepancies in their performances for the most part have little to do with whether or not this impromptu should be sung at the piano, although in some the performance of the entire piece sings, while for others the louder sections may verge on something more violent. The overriding issue is tempo, and this embraces the extremes of Kempff's slow tempo, sometimes so slow it almost stops, and the galloping pace of Schnabel, as fast as one can imagine it going. As I noted in chapter 5, the source of the tempo problem lies in Schubert's

double *alla breve* sign at the beginning, a highly unusual indicator that Haslinger in the first published edition assumed no one would understand, and changed to a single *alla breve*. Double or single, the performer must decide whether to take this at two beats per bar or four beats, and Schubert's signs seem to suggest two. The melody line could not be more vocal in nature than it is, even falling within a standard mezzo soprano (or tenor) range, and anyone performing it would do well to sing it, to see in fact if they can make it sing in four. Some have succeeded in doing this, but not all.

Aside from the melody line, there are also striking implications for the inner voice figuration, depending on the tempo taken. At Kempff's slow four, or even the more moderate four taken by Arrau, Rubenstein, and Brendel, each note of the figuration will be articulated, making it no easy task to maintain the smooth flow of the line. Sometimes Kempff allows the tempo to fluctuate, becoming even slower than his opening crawl, and he constantly runs the risk of sounding like a wind-up toy as it grinds to a stop. Arrau has another problem with it, which is that in articulating every note he sometimes loses the continuity, with little bursts and punctuations that distract from the melody and make the overall effect much too bumpy. Brendel manages to make it work at his pace which is not quite as slow as some of the others. Rubenstein takes it slightly slower than Brendel, and he plays it so gloriously one simply cannot argue with it, as he keeps the continuity in the inner part and the flow of the melody, making it sing as only Rubenstein can.

At the faster tempo in two, something very different happens in both the melody and inner figuration; one can now imagine singing it, taking breaths at normal points in the phrase. Schnabel takes it in two, as do Fischer, Curzon, and Schiff, although none of them take it as fast as Schnabel. It appears as though Schnabel, in determining that it should be in two, played it at a tempo that would leave no ambivalence about being in two. In taking that edge off the speed, the others in a sense walk the tightrope of keeping it in two, something Curzon succeeds with especially, finding what could very well be the perfect tempo. Along with the melody, something striking happens to the inner figuration; instead of each note being articulated it becomes much more a gloss of sound, something one could imagine having an influence on Ravel as he invented his distinctive shimmering sound

late in the century. The melody can literally float above that gloss of sound, without the danger of it being a distraction, as it becomes in Arrau's performance. Again Curzon pulls this off most successfully, and Schiff also achieves a wonderful sound combination. This effect simply cannot happen at a slower tempo, and it forces the pianist to develop a different type of relationship between melody and figuration.

Whether fast or slow all the pianists achieve wonderful results at the most glorious vocal point of the piece, the full-blown climax or epiphany, with the G natural high point at bar 49 (see Example 5.2). All of them play this note with great vocal sensitivity, like the tenor whose air stream is so restrained that he would not make a candle directly in front of his lips flicker. The bar prior to it provides a setup for the G, and the danger with the slow tempo is that the lead-in becomes overdone; nothing of the sort happens at the faster tempo, and one cannot imagine a more stunning effect here than the one Curzon achieves.

Along with these distinctive vocal passages, the piece has other types of writing as well, reaching a dynamic height of *forte* at points, as well as strongly articulated notes, periodically using *fz*; the octave doublings in the bass part also add emphasis. Aside from the tempo, pianists must decide if the entire piece will flow in a vocal manner, which means under-emphasizing these points of articulation, or looking for contrast between the beautiful melody and somewhat violent incursions. Rubenstein, for one, allows it to sing throughout, although in some passages he differentiates the nature of the flow. In marked contrast, Fischer exaggerates the *fz* markings, assaulting us with something much stronger, treating some passages with outright violence, and finding menace in others. Violent middle sections, of course, are not uncommon in Schubert's works, but whether one finds it in this piece is very much a matter of individual choice, and no other pianist finds it to the extent that Fischer does. Others seem more inclined to feel the fire, but not let it get out of hand.

Focusing on such a small number of works of course gives a skewed view of the breadth of Schubert performances, including those by the great masters. Vladimir Horowitz, Rudolf Serkin, Radu Lupu, Maurizio Pollini, Sviatoslav Richter, and other pianists have recorded Schubert. Wonderful performances have also been given by Benja-

min Britten with Mstislav Rostropovich and Yehudi Menuhin; Sergei Rachmaninoff and Fritz Kreisler; Alfred Cortot, Jacques Thibaud, and Pablo Casals; Adolf and Hermann Busch with Serkin; the Pro Arte Quartet; and numerous others. Great performers of the past have not been able to resist the spell of Schubert, and certainly the same can be said of the current generation: a recent live performance I heard Marc André Hamelin give of the Sonata in A (D664) was nothing short of breathtaking. We can listen to these masters with great wonder and amazement, and Schubert himself would probably have responded that way too; nothing, though, can replace playing these works for ourselves however inadequate it may be, meeting Schubert on our own terms.

NOTES

1. For a performance history of Schubert in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see David Montgomery, "Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: A Brief History of People, Events, and Issues," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 270–83.

2. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 5.

3. See, for example, John Daverio, *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); James Webster, "Schubert's Sonata Form and Brahms's First Maturity," *19th-Century Music* 1 (1978): 18–35, and 3 (1979): 52–71; Marie Luise Mainte, *Franz Schubert in der Rezeption Robert Schumann* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995); others are listed in the Notes.

4. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 14.

5. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 4.

6. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 14.

7. Leon B. Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), 96.

8. Plantinga, *Schumann*, 222.

9. Plantinga, *Schumann*, 224.

10. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 19.

11. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 394–95.

12. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 414.
13. Alan Walker, "Liszt and the Schubert Song Transcriptions," *The Musical Quarterly* 67 (1981): 50–51.
14. Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany 1840–1845* (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1994), 124.
15. Walker, "Liszt and the Schubert Song Transcriptions," 53–54.
16. Walker, "Liszt and the Schubert Song Transcriptions," 59–60.
17. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 15.
18. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, 422–23.
19. Elizabeth Norman McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 118–19.
20. Franz Liszt, "Schubert's Alfonso und Estrella," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 10 (1 September 1854): 101–05.
21. Robert Pascall, "My Love of Schubert—No Fleeting Fancy: Brahms's Response to Schubert," *Schubert durch die Brille* 21 (June 1998): 41.
22. Pascall, "My Love of Schubert," 47.
23. Pascall, "My Love of Schubert," 48–52; Webster, "Schubert's Sonata Form and Brahms's First Maturity," *19th-Century Music* 1 (1978): 18–35 and 3 (1979): 52–71.
24. Susan Youens, *Hugo Wolf: The Vocal Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 358.
25. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 13.
26. Youens, *Hugo Wolf*, 141.
27. Youens, *Hugo Wolf*, 121.
28. Miriam K. Wapples, "Mahler and Schubert's A Minor Sonata D.784," *Music and Letters* 65 (1984): 255.
29. Susan Youens, "Schubert, Mahler and the Weight of the Past: 'Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen' and 'Winterreise,'" *Music and Letters* 67 (1986): 268.
30. See Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 161–68; Martha M. Hyde, "Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 18 (1996): 223–35; Christopher Wintle, "Webern's Lyric Character," in *Webern Studies*, ed. Kathryn Bailey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 229–63; and Andreas Meyer, "Schubert und Webern," *Schubert: Perspektiven* 1 (2001): 84–107. I consider Berg in chapter 8.
31. See Alex Ross, "Great Souls," *New Yorker* 72, no. 45 (3 February 1997): 78.
32. Daverio, *Crossing Paths*, 13.
33. I would like to thank James Stark, who studied with Schjøtz, for introducing me to his recordings.

34. Axel Schiøtz, *The Singer and His Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 29–65.

35. Schiøtz, *The Singer*, 48.

36. Schiøtz, *The Singer*, xv.

37. A tape of the performance at the University of Western Ontario was made, and, thanks to John Glofcheskie, I have a copy of it.

38. Schiøtz, *The Singer*, 31.

39. David Schroeder, “Schubert’s ‘Einsamkeit’ and Haslinger’s ‘Weiterreise,’” *Music and Letters* 71 (1990): 352–60.

DropBooks

Chapter Eight

Turn-of-the-Century Vienna

AS THE NINETEENTH CENTURY NEARED its end the Viennese started to take more serious notice of their musical heritage. Some of the most illustrious composers of the past century and a half had spent the better parts of their careers in Vienna, and the international fame of these musical giants made the city look good. Unlike the turn of the nineteenth century, when only the most recent music interested anyone, music of the past now commanded the most attention, forcing new composers into daily competition with it. For city fathers and solid citizens early in the twentieth century, the old music had an enormous appeal, with its familiar sounds recalling the good old times, something they could listen to comfortably without being made to squirm by the likes of Arnold Schoenberg or even Gustav Mahler. If the old music had political overtones or touches of subversion, that was long forgotten, and it could now be happily accepted for its pleasant sounds or stirring appeal, offering an opportunity for the *Bürgerschaft* to get dressed up and be seen to be cultured in public. Moreover, local critics and foreign observers made a great deal of fuss about the city's musical heritage, so much so that it provided a resource the city could exploit, presenting itself to the world once again in the way it had seen itself in the past, as the center of the universe—as the place that had attracted these extraordinary geniuses as residents.

Vienna always enjoyed a good celebration, and what better thing to celebrate than its past international stars in the domain that now symbolized the city: music. Haydn had adored Vienna, regretting the

time he had to spend in Eisenstadt or the swampy, mosquito-infested Eszterháza estate since it deprived him of the companionship of his Viennese friends, but the time for Vienna to extol him had not yet come. Throughout the nineteenth century he remained a pleasant but distant memory—"Papa" Haydn, whose music seemed a little too old-fashioned. Mozart spent the last decade of his life in Vienna, aside from earlier visits, but he too suffered from an apparently unbridgeable gulf of time. Except for a small number of his works that never quite vanished from the repertoire, the nineteenth century had little interest in Mozart. Beethoven remained very much in vogue, providing one of the chief rivals to modern composers residing in Vienna such as Brahms and Mahler. All composers had to come to terms with the mighty shadow cast by Beethoven, who aroused passion in audiences and critics around the world, and the Viennese could surely bask in the prestige he had given their city, regardless of how he may have felt about Vienna at the time. One problem, though, could dampen some of the enthusiasm for this giant of the past: he came from Germany—not even the south of the country but the more distant Bonn. That did not prevent Vienna from commemorating his one-hundredth anniversary in 1870, but at that time the celebration never quite gathered the momentum that some hoped it might.¹

In 1897 the perfect occasion for a huge celebration arose, something no one would have dreamt of fifty years earlier, now with the best possible opportunity to make the city feel proud, nostalgic, and cheerful. Schubert's star had risen meteorically in the last third of the century, as the manuscripts of his late symphonies and other glorious works were unearthed and performed, airing not only in Vienna but in the rest of Europe and North America. By now Schubert had become an honored member of the first Viennese school, taking his place beside Beethoven and ahead of Haydn and Mozart, a composer revered in the civilized world, and best of all, a native son, unlike the other three. Long dead and relatively unscathed by embarrassing biographical details, he could now be reinvented in the image that the most illustrious members of society would find suitable, for example as an affable if somewhat shy lover of the local cuisine who died at a tragically young age, stripped of all the glorious potential that might have been if he had lived as long as Beethoven. Along with the publication and concerts of his music, a Schubert industry quickly developed with the manufacturing of Schubert kitsch—

nicknacks, sketches, and every other imaginable kind of object to adorn one's hearth. Even leading writers such as Arthur Schnitzler contributed to this image, representing Schubert in his plays and novels as an image of domesticity and *gemütlichkeit* ("coziness").²

All signs pointed toward the one-hundredth anniversary of Schubert's birth (1797), which took place in Vienna itself. Here was a great musician of the past whose celebration could showcase the city to the world, raising the envy of every other city not so lucky to have such a native son—one who would in fact never move away. The city spared nothing in lavishing honor and glory in its *Schuberts-Feier* ("celebration"), the official highlights being the series of concerts and the exhibition at the Künstlerhaus, the *Schubert-Ausstellung*, with tributes by dignitaries. As Scott Messing notes, performers at the concert series included heavyweights such as Hans Richter, appearing for the 200th time with the Philharmonic, and students at the conservatory, one of whom happened to be the fourteen-year-old Artur Schnabel.³ If audiences did not yet know the "Unfinished" Symphony, they had the opportunity to hear no less than five versions of it on 31 January (the actual anniversary of Schubert's birth). The official opening of the exhibition took place on 20 January, with Vienna's best assembled for the opening remarks by the Emperor himself, Franz Joseph:

Today it is so much more agreeable for me to respond to your invitation, since it concerns a genuine Austrian celebration. Certainly Franz Schubert, the representative of a purer art, the creator of the most noble songs, has for a long time belonged to the entire civilized world. But we can proudly call him ours; Vienna especially can call him one of its greatest sons. I can therefore undertake, before all eyes, the opening which here has collected evidence in loving memory to the great master, only to welcome complete recognition and to declare herewith the opening of the Schubert exhibition.⁴

Messing notes that a political agenda lurked beneath the surface of this address, as the celebration of a great Austrian coincided with the election of the right-wing Christian Social party.⁵ Schubert, the one-time political dissident, now had become the instrument of a new xenophobia in Austria; Vienna did not have to wait long for Karl Lueger to become its mayor and institute hard line policies that would spark some of the most virulent anti-Semitism in Europe.

As should be suspected, not everyone in Vienna greeted this adulation of Schubert with enthusiasm. Some could surely see through the manipulation of Schubert's image for political purposes—that the focus on a native son had a dark side that would ultimately make life more difficult for foreigners and would help to crystalize the attitudes against Jews. Others who genuinely loved and understood Schubert's music took offense at what Schubert's image had become: a symbol of everything about Austria that they loathed most of all, made warm and fuzzy like a prize at the Prater, dripping with sweet confection as though vended from a kiosk in the Graben. Not only the exhibition and the mountains of kitsch surrounding it drew ire, but so did the concerts of Schubert's music, and in the next big Schubert year, 1928, the centennial anniversary of his death, little in this respect had changed. Alban Berg, by this point an internationally recognized composer because of the success of *Wozzeck*, wrote to Arnold Schoenberg, then living in Berlin, about how dismal the event sponsored by the Austrian Cultural Ministry on 17 through 25 November had been: “And what haven't we experienced! The Schubert week. Naturally my faint hope that in his honor at least one chord in the dozens of concerts be played correctly was dashed. But that was nothing compared to what was *spoken* by our dignitaries.”⁶ By this point the celebration of Schubert on the part of the government took on much more menacing implications. In the same letter Berg expressed what he really felt about Vienna, “this godforsaken city” that could do such a thing to the memory of Schubert. I will return to Berg shortly, who, as another native son, had much in common with Schubert.

KLIMT'S SCHUBERT AM KLAVIER

Parallel to the distasteful official and widespread public Schubert sycophancy before the turn of the century, which resulted in Bartsch's *Schwammerl: ein Schubert-Roman* (*Schwammerl: A Schubert Novel*, 1912) and Berté's wildly popular operetta *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (*The House of Three Girls*) a few years later, another far more interesting response to Schubert developed from the leading artists and writers who found themselves, like Schubert in his own time, at odds with the city's social values and politics. The centerpiece for this alternative

response to Schubert arose in the painting by Gustav Klimt, *Schubert am Klavier*. The industrialist Nikolaus von Dumba—a Schubert enthusiast—commissioned the painting as a supraporte (over-door) painting for his music room at 4 Parkring in the First District, and Klimt completed it in 1899. Put on display at the Fourth Secession Exhibition during March through May of 1899, the painting became well known, in fact the most reproduced work by Klimt aside from his *Der Kuss* (*The Kiss*). Fortunately, fine reproductions existed, since the painting itself, after the sale of Dumba's apartment, ended up in Schloss Immendorf where fire destroyed it in 1945.⁷

While exhibited at the Secession, numerous writers and musicians viewed it, and some of them expressed their feelings about it in strong terms. Alma Schindler, soon to become the wife of Gustav Mahler, saw it on 23 May, and with a keen eye developed as the daughter of the painter Emil Jakob Schindler and stepdaughter of the Secessionist painter Carl Moll, she aired her impression in her diary immediately after the viewing:

Kl.'s paintings are indisputably the finest on display. I spent a long time looking at them and thinking about his artistic standing. His



Schubert at the Piano, by Gustav Klimt, 1899. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

“Schubert” is wonderful, but in those surroundings I would have preferred to see Schumann. Schubert sits at the piano, surrounded by ultra-modern young ladies singing. The whole thing bathed in dim candle-light—hence in fact alien to Schubert’s melody, which is so primary and healthy. It’s Schumann’s music that’s the more sickly and ultra-romantic, hence also the more modern.⁸

As a composer herself Alma looked for the musical essence of the painting, and for her Schubert seemed misplaced. As for the quality of the painting itself, she had no doubts, although one wonders to what extent her relationship with Klimt shaded her judgment, since at this time his interest in her was by no means a passing one.⁹

When the poet, essayist, and critic Hermann Bahr saw it, he made his opinion very public, writing the following in *Secession*:

I said lately that in my opinion Klimt’s *Schubert* is the finest painting ever done by an Austrian. And there is something else I would like to say: I know of no modern that has struck me as so great and pure as this one. . . . What is it? Ah, could I but name it! I only know that I get angry when someone asks if I am German. No, I reply, I am not German, I am Austrian. That is no nation, comes the answer. We have become a nation, I say, but we are different from the Germans, we are ourselves. Try defining that! How can one define it? Well, by beholding this Schubert. This tranquillity, this softness, this radiance, this domestic simplicity—therein lies our Austrian nature! Here we have our Austrian creed: that every human being, be he ever so small, has in him a flame that no storm can extinguish. Each of us has his own holy sanctuary, and no destiny can crush it. Whatever the turmoil, we can come to no ill, the flame cannot blow out, no one can deprive us of our inner worth. It is this that I mean by the Viennese feeling for life.¹⁰

Bahr’s nationalism bore no resemblance to that of the political right, but insisted on a distinction between Austrians and Germans, not unlike politicians on the left such as Viktor Adler. His nationalism arose from the combined impulses of Schubert and Klimt, both of whom took the hard edges off what he associated with Germany, although he left himself vulnerable to attack from critics such as Karl Kraus, who found the hypocrisy in Dumba’s commission as objectionable as Bahr’s writing style.¹¹

ALTENBERG'S SCHUBERT

The most noteworthy admiration of the painting came from Peter Altenberg, the strange denizen of Vienna's nightlife who, after giving up on a formal education, spent his nights in coffeehouses and days sleeping in shabby hotel rooms, indulging in far too much alcohol and drugs. This dissipated lifestyle would have been fatal to some, but Altenberg also wrote, mainly aphorisms, although with no goal of publication or public approbation. Kraus and Schnitzler discovered his writing, and spearheaded the collection of his aphorisms into books, thirteen in all, starting with *We ich es sehe* (*As I See It*, 1896) and ending with *Mein Lebensabend* (*The Autumn of My Life*) in 1919, the year he died. His writing attracted much more attention than he could have imagined, and certainly more than he cared about; the start of the war suspended the awarding of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1914, but the two nominees that year were Schnitzler and Altenberg.¹²

Altenberg's acquaintance with Schubert songs started at an early age; during a year confined to bed at the age of ten because of a severe foot infection, his mother would sing Schubert songs to him from the next room.¹³ At least one writer has speculated that aside from the influence of Baudelaire on his early prose poems in cyclical form, he may have also tried to emulate Schubert's song cycles.¹⁴ Altenberg acquired a copy of Klimt's *Schubert am Klavier* and hung it on the wall of his room at the Graben Hotel, along with the photographs of nude women—photos of women in his coffeehouse circle taken at his expense.¹⁵ As he often did with postcards and other items he collected, he inscribed this one with an aphorism: "One of my gods: Schubert! *Heartfelt wish*. 'Most beloved, I should always wish that you could listen more transfigured to Schubert's songs than to my words—'"¹⁶ As Messing points out, in writing about the inscription at a later date, he got it completely wrong, and apparently even misplaced where the picture hung: "Over my bed hangs a photograph of Gustav Klimt's painting, Schubert. Schubert sings songs by candlelight with three Viennese girls around the piano. Underneath it I've written: 'One of my gods! Men created gods for themselves, in order somehow to awaken to living existence their own hidden and yet unfulfillable ideals. . . .'"¹⁷ He now addresses it (in fact hanging over his wash basin) to himself instead of the "beloved" in the actual inscription.

Certain details of the painting immediately strike one as significant. Schubert sits in the center in profile at the piano, flanked by a beautiful young woman facing forward to his left (in front of him, not singing), agreed by all to have been Marie (Mizzi) Zimmermann, one of Klimt's mistresses and the mother of two sons by the artist,¹⁸ and two women behind him to his right, singing. The face of a man peers at the music on the piano from behind the two women on the right, possibly a likeness of Michael Vogl; the representation of Schubert appears to come from Kupelwieser's 1821 watercolor of a party game at Atzenbrugg, a work in Dumba's possession and exhibited at the *Schubert-Ausstellung*.¹⁹ We see Zimmermann clad in striking modern dress, in a French impressionist style, vividly catching the light of the candles on the piano, making it appear that she radiates the light more than the candles. As for the figure of Schubert, his face and his hands catch some of the light, but his clothes in stark contrast are black, completely unadorned, even darker than the wall in the background,²⁰ making him a virtual black hole drawing no attention whatever to himself, directing the eye primarily in the direction that he looks. Klimt thus minimizes him as a personality, making him a pure representation of music, with hands responding to the music of his face. The real visual representation of the music, both from the direction of his look and the extension of his hands, gets transferred, along with the emanation of the light, to the non-singing figure of Zimmermann.

The painting could be an *hommage* to Zimmermann, but of course it goes far beyond that. Klimt took bold new steps with this painting, leaving behind his earlier historicist academic style and moving on to the Secessionist style. It also appears to bridge an historical gap, drawing on the historical figure of Schubert from the 1820s, but placing him in a fin-de-siècle salon, no longer in Biedermeier Vienna but now very much in the present, in Gottfried Fliedl's words, turning "past into present."²¹ Klimt also loved the music of Schubert, and for him Schubert was no mere figure from Vienna's archives but a force whose music made him alive, to quote Hanslick in 1865, "as if, after a long separation, the composer himself were among us in person,"²² speaking to the essence of what he held dear through music that perhaps belonged even more to the present than the past.

Klimt's painting puts the spotlight on a young woman—a very young woman—as though she and music itself become intertwined,

giving a type of synesthesia in which we respond to Schubert's music through her ethereal essence. The inspiration may also travel the other way, with her almost floating as a muse, becoming for Schubert a source of his music, as she emanates the light into his face, and the skin of her left hand becomes a conduit of flesh tone interjected into his hands without actually touching (but in fact touching in the two-dimensional confines of the painting). For Altenberg this illustration comes to the heart of his most deeply held views: Schubert as one of his gods, captured in music what the poet most earnestly strives for, allowing a transfigured state for his "most beloved" who can give herself even more completely to Schubert's songs than to his own words. Elsewhere Altenberg had more to say about Schubert, as in his *Nachfehlung* of 1916:

I often read over Niggli's Schubert biography. . . . I've read the same place a hundred times, page 37. Due to the goodness of Prince Esterházy in Zseliz, he was of course music teacher to the very young princesses, Marie and Caroline. But he lost his heart to Caroline. From that arose his works for piano four hands. The young princess never discovered his deep attraction. Only once, when she teased him, that he had still not dedicated any composition to her, he replied: "Why bother?! It's all for you anyhow!" It's as if so full a heart in its grief opened itself, and then closed itself for all time—. ²³

As Messing notes, Altenberg gets some crucial dates turned around, possibly thinking Schubert had fallen in love with an eleven-year-old princess; in his *Neues Altes* (1911) he makes her Schubert's fourteen-year-old muse. ²⁴

This opens a series of striking possibilities, getting to the essence of Altenberg's fascination with Schubert, if not actual identification. For Altenberg and the coffeehouse intellectuals, the *Frauen Frage* ("women's question") preoccupied them at the turn of the century, and they saw women as central to their notions of refining and ennobling the soul. His approach amounted to the creation of a *Frauenkult* ("cult of women"), with a sympathetic approach standing at the opposite pole from Otto Weininger's invidious misogyny, presented in the extraordinarily popular *Geschlecht und Charakter* (*Sex and Character*), which went through twenty-six printings between 1903 and 1925. Altenberg's view of a *Frauenkult* could very much be nurtured

by Klimt's similar outlook on feminine beauty and its distinctive effect on men. Both Altenberg and Klimt seemed preoccupied with the ability of men to assimilate feminine characteristics, elevating this as something supremely positive, unlike Weininger's negative sense of bisexuality. Aside from the many other writers who shared this view, including Rilke, Hofmannsthal, Shelley, Wordsworth, Balzac, and Baudelaire, we can also see it in Klimt's visual treatment of women or his men and women in embraces in which their bodies seem to blend together as one, as in *Der Kuss*.

Among Altenberg's numerous portrayals of feminine characteristics, most striking are his treatments of prepubescent girls. In "Zwölf" ("Twelve") from "See-Ufer" ("Seashore") in *Wie ich es sehe* (*The Way I See It*), the heroine, described as "das Kind mit den braunblonden Haaren und den Gazellenbeinen" ("the child with brownish-blond hair and gazellelike legs"), combines "*femme fragile*" and instinctual animal-like features. She has strength, resolution, and vitality, in contrast to older women, and has not yet become jaded or hypocritical. With sexual awareness he associates a loss of innocence, naturalness, and honesty—a free-spiritedness that can never be recaptured.²⁵ The poet attempts to re-create this state of innocence and freedom, to reenter this dreamlike world; he puts it forward as a reality more real than the fallen state of the normal, materialistic, adult world. Those who seek and discover the inner reality of the aesthetic world, according to Altenberg, will surely find themselves at odds with the rest of society, sometimes alienated, sometimes isolated, or at best in solitude.²⁶

In drawing the link with what he imagined to be a prepubescent Princess Caroline, Altenberg looked at Schubert as a kindred spirit, believing Schubert not only shared his own fetish for girls of that age as muses, but also views on blending masculine and feminine traits. While details in Niggli's Schubert biography confirmed this for Altenberg, other opinions readily available in print could bolster his misguided views. Writers on music often cited a well-known essay on Schubert by Robert Schumann, more often than not used to cast Schubert in a negative light when compared to Beethoven. In Schumann's words, "Beethoven and Schubert may be recognized and distinguished, from the very first. Schubert is a more feminine character compared to the other; far more loquacious, softer, broader; compared to Beethoven he is a child, sporting happily among the gi-

ants.”²⁷ The last statement here seems to lump “feminine” in with other trifling features, but Schumann himself does not necessarily assign the feminine character a pejorative value, ever conscious of his own feminine side. Other writers on music have been much less accommodating, consistently using the word “feminine” to denote something abnormal or deficient in musical procedures, such as A. B. Marx in his 1845 description of second themes in sonata form: “The second theme, on the other hand, serves as contrast to the first, energetic statement, though dependent on and determined by it. It is of a more tender nature, flexibly rather than emphatically constructed—in a way, the feminine as opposed to the preceding masculine.”²⁸ Even as late as 1970 the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, edited by Willi Apel, gave this definition of masculine and feminine cadences: “A cadence or ending is called ‘masculine’ if the final chord of a phrase or section occurs on the strong beat and ‘feminine’ if it is postponed to fall on the weak beat. The masculine ending must be considered the normal one, while the feminine is preferred in more romantic styles.”²⁹ This of course sets up the romantic feminine ending as the abnormal one.

Altenberg would have made no such association. He probably had not read the Schumann essay, but if he had, he would have seen that Schumann finds masculine elements in Schubert’s music as well, certainly when compared with other composers: “But all this merely in comparison with Beethoven; compared to others, he is masculine; indeed, the boldest and most freethinking among the newer musicians.”³⁰ In this statement, Schumann seems to imply the presence of gender blending, which he admired as a freethinker; both notions appealed greatly to Altenberg. As a reader of Schubert biography, it seems more likely that Altenberg would have known the leading biography, Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn’s *Franz Schubert* of 1865, a work that takes Schumann’s views into account. Kreissle cites the older Schumann who had gained new admiration for Schubert, in which Schumann compared a passage in one of Schubert’s piano trios, “with its deep scorn and transition to sad passionate longings,” to the other “full of lovely maidenlike trust; the Adagio, with a sigh which seems likely to melt into a burst of sorrow, is here cheerful, confident, and virginlike. . . . In a word, the Trio in E-flat is more spirited, manly, dramatic; this, on the other hand, is full of anguish, more womanly and lyric in character.”³¹ Altenberg would have understood “virginlike”

in his own distinctive way; here he could find confirmation of his most deeply held conviction in the opinion of one great composer about another, and in listening to Schubert's music he surely heard this feature in it.

Aside from his fixation on eleven- or twelve-year-old girls, which he believed he had in common with Schubert, Altenberg could have, with very little difficulty, taken that to the next step of seeing Schubert striving to integrate masculine and feminine characteristics, standing as the same type of artist of the soul as himself, creating a similar aesthetic world that pervaded his entire existence. For Altenberg, that required a change of identity—a rejection of his former existence and the embracing of a new reality, and the name he selected reflects this. Originally Richard Englander, he moved toward his new name in stages, using, for example, Richard P. Altenberg and P. Altenberg-E in letters to Karl Kraus.³² The new name resulted from several factors associated with a period of convalescence at the age of nineteen with a family named Lecher, spent at a resort called Altenberg on the river Danube. The name Peter came from his attraction to the tomboyish thirteen-year-old daughter of the Lecher family, Bertha, nicknamed Peter by her brothers. Throughout his life he never lost this type of erotic fetish, but even more strikingly he identified with her (him), a phenomenon described by Edward Timms: “By adopting this boy-girl’s name, he was implicitly repudiating the ‘masculine’ role prescribed for him by society and initiating that cultivation of a ‘feminine’ sensibility that is so characteristic of his writing.”³³

As lovers of Schubert's songs, both Klimt and Altenberg undoubtedly knew songs in which Schubert takes on a feminine persona through his music, such as “Gretchen am Spinnrade.” Considering the title of his painting, *Schubert am Klavier*, and the placement of a young female muse in front of the composer, Klimt may also have known Schubert's song with a similar title, “Laura am Klavier,” Laura also being a muse, and the piano itself, with its feminine associations, the ultimate medium for the transference of a feminine spirit into music. Altenberg could revel in these associations, and his perceived connection with Schubert's representations of women in song or in instrumental works could have also triggered a series of other means of identifying with Schubert, both through biographical knowledge and awareness of the music. With his primary interest in songs, he

could have seen Schubert's productivity paralleling his own, focusing on small works, songs, and aphorisms, revealing the soul in their own distinctive ways, either as self-standing small pieces or sewn into collections or cycles.

The biographies also gave the impression that Schubert had little or no interest in promoting himself, caring little for public opinion, and not doing much to get his works published or performed publicly. That type of promotion, including making someone like Goethe aware of him, sending music to publishers, or arranging for performances, fell to others such as Josef von Spaun, Sonnleithner, and Vogl. In this Altenberg could see himself, apparently having no interest in whether or not a larger public read his works, with publication occurring only because the likes of Kraus and Schnitzler made it happen. With writing or songs of such an intimate nature, probing the soul at the deepest level, self-promotion would taint the works themselves; this impression of Schubert, possible at the end of the century because of the works that had languished in trunks out of public view, would have struck Altenberg as the ultimate sign of artistic integrity and commitment to an aesthetic existence.

Altenberg, like the other notable intellectuals and artists in Vienna, spent most of his time in coffeehouses, living in a way completely alien to conventional society. His friend Alban Berg also enjoyed this lifestyle, writing to his future wife Helene in July 1908 about the activities in which he typically spent his time: "In the afternoon I went to the art gallery. . . . In the evening I met Smaragda [his sister] at Altenberg's table in the Löwenbrau beer-cellar, then she went home with Ida [her friend], while I met Karl Kraus—Dr Fritz Wittels was also there, all very nice. At 3 a.m. we all went home, but I ran into Ida . . . and the two of us roistered on for the rest of the night!"³⁴ When not at the Löwenbrau Kraus and Altenberg could be found at the Café Central or on occasions at one of the other coffeehouses. Gurus such as Kraus, Altenberg, Karl Adler, or Klimt presided over coteries at closely demarcated tables. The list of writers, painters, architects, composers, and psychoanalysts who populated these tables at the Cafés Imperial, Central, Museum, or Herrenhof reads like a who's who of the best minds of the city: Schnitzler, Bahr, Felix Dormann, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Felix Salten, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke, Franz Werfel, Egon Friedell, Max Brod, Franz

Kafka (occasionally), Oskar Kokoschka, Egon Schiele, Adolf Loos, Erich Korngold, and Sigmund Freud, to name but a few. Important movements emerged from the coffeehouses, including Jung-Wien ("Young Vienna") in literature and the Secessionists in painting and architecture.

Many of these people all but lived in the coffeehouses, which had access to the best array of international newspapers and magazines the city could offer, good coffee, and a congenial atmosphere; in space-strapped Vienna they had heated rooms where they could spend all day or night with no pressure to buy coffee or move on.³⁵ Altenberg was not unusual among these productive idlers, coming from a wealthy family, and he continued to get support from his family even after the rupture with his father occurred. He could have read in Kreissle's biography that "Schubert used to visit the Bognersche Coffee-house in the Singerstrasse, where a waiter, by the odd manner in which he called out to the kitchen the customers' orders, used to send him into fits of laughter."³⁶ Not only a coffeehouse denizen, Schubert lived a similar type of existence, often in conflict with his father, and, as the biographies make clear, for the most part either could not or would not live at home, living instead with friends or in a rented room. As a dropout from society, Altenberg shunned employment completely, quickly leaving professions his father selected for him such as bookselling, separating himself from all vestiges of materialism (with, of course, the exception of money from home). He could take heart that Schubert followed the same course, who, according to Kreissle, "had a special aversion to giving lessons, and following the routine and method generally prescribed for musicians."³⁷ The episode of his failure as a teacher in his father's school would have especially endeared him to Altenberg, also described by Kreissle: "His patience during the ordeal [of teaching] frequently forsook him; but to the restless energetic creator of music, the employment of giving lessons in music seemed absolutely intolerable." He got rid of all such obligations in order "to be perfect master of his time and inclinations."

The lifestyle of independence and indulgence included for Altenberg consumption of wildly unhealthy amounts of alcohol and drugs, and here too he could consider Schubert as a fellow imbibor, although not of drugs. Kreissle made much of Schubert's drinking: "It is a well-known fact that Schubert was a genuine believer in wine; nay, there

are people who would libel him as a confirmed drunkard, probably because of a few harmless excesses in the way of potations, of which no doubt our composer was guilty." The harmless excess sounds more like a confirmed drunkard as he continues:

Franz liked good wine. In spite of the protestations of friends anxious about his health, he refused to thin his potations with water; and not having a strong head, it happened that at the wine-shop with a party of merry fellows, or in private houses, if the right sort of vintage was on the table, our friend would occasionally overshoot the mark, and then either become boisterous and violent, or, when the wine had completely fuddled him, slink off to a corner, where not a syllable, in his maudlin state, could be got from him.³⁸

Kreissle tries to convince us that these descriptions of his "drunken habits" are simply the slanderous views of others, and that anyone living such a short time could not possibly write as much as he did if he gave in to such excess. Considering his own drinking and productivity, Altenberg would have taken a different view on that.

As a creature of urban life, Altenberg looked at nature in a romantic sense: nature provided salvation from the destructive powers of cities. He tried to find an inherent harmony with nature, which could be possible if one found the right degree of reverence for all natural phenomena. By experiencing nature and stripping away the encumbrances of urban social stratification, one could go through a cleansing process and be transformed to a higher level of human and spiritual existence. This required forgoing the material world in favor of the spiritual. He did not need a biography to find common ground with Schubert, but could find it in song texts and Schubert's musical representation of the various aspects of nature—brooks, flowers, trees, the mist, spring, and the host of others. These often become symbolic forces, as the brook in *Die schöne Müllerin*, becoming a desirable place of final repose, the ultimate rejection of the material world in favor of the spiritual. In all of these parallels with Schubert, Altenberg could see that the two of them together had rejected conventional society and its materialism, and that society—Vienna in particular—had rejected them, forcing them into isolation and solitude. Both enjoyed the company of like-minded friends and associates (in fact, Schubertiads resembled Altenberg holding court at a coffeehouse), but in the



Franz Schubert and Bauernfeld Drinking Wine, by Moritz von Schwind, n.d. Photo credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

end their works came from the lamp that emanated from within, revealing the soul, something that could emerge only in solitude.

One cannot know for certain if Altenberg knew anything of the circumstances of Schubert's death or his at-times hedonistic way of

life, but in various published sources from the second half of the nineteenth century he could have discovered some of this. For a biographer like Kreissle, revealing certain types of details would have defeated the monument and *hommage* he wished to present to the public, but he gives at least one hint in a footnote: “Unhappily, Schubert’s thirsty inclinations led him astray to following those bad courses which generally admit of no return—at all events, of none consistent with health.”³⁹ He does not refer to these urges beyond the consumption of strong drink, but he would have known perfectly well that Schubert had other more dangerous vices. In the memoirs of various friends comments emerged about Schubert’s dual nature—the dark side “bathed in slime” and “the craving for pleasure [that] dragged his soul down to the slough of moral degradation,” as Josef Kenner put it.⁴⁰ Kenner tried to pin the blame on Schober, but Schober himself, his comments recorded by the journalist Ludwig August Frankl in 1868, also saw Schubert self-destructing:

Schubert let himself go to pieces; he frequented the city outskirts and roamed around in taverns, at the same time admittedly composing his most beautiful songs in them, just as he did in the hospital too . . . where he found himself as the result of excessively indulgent sensual living and its consequences.⁴¹

It was no secret how Schubert lived, although facing the truth about it would neither have been good for the spirit of celebration of 1897 nor have suited the political atmosphere of the time. Without anyone saying it outright, it would have been clear from these comments that Schubert frequented brothels as well as taverns on the outskirts of the city, and as a result he contracted syphilis.

Along with the various hints of Schubert’s syphilis in the air at the turn of the century, Otto Erich Deutsch, the most serious of the Schubert biographers, raised the possibility in an article as early as 1907.⁴² Altenberg, it appears, knew of this, and that it would have been fatal. In his feuilleton titled “Franz Schubert,” published in *Nachfechtung* (1916), he speculates on what may have killed Schubert: “An Fischvergiftung [fish poisoning]. . . . An S An Tuberkulose. . . .”⁴³ Still exercising some decorum about spelling it out, the “S” followed by seven dots gives the precise number of letters of “Syphilis” (spelled the same in German as in English). Of course he

would have made the connection between the disease and Schubert's penchant for prostitutes.

Altenberg, like some of his fellow writers, had a unique view of prostitutes, and if he had any inkling of Schubert's indulgence, he would have seen that in terms other than a raw need to fulfill sexual gratification. Writers such as Strindberg, Kraus, Weininger, and Wedekind all attempted to redefine the social role of women, often, as with Weininger, taking a misogynist approach. Altenberg was the least misogynist of these various writers, but an element of misogyny remained in his writing, in part because of his inability to see woman as having a role separate from her function as the redeemer of man. Like his literary compatriots he found the conventional role of *Frau* as bearer of children, keeper of the house, and social ornament to her husband repulsive. In his scheme of things she does not gain independence but instead her role changes from one of satisfying physical, material, and social needs to one of providing spiritual support as a muse. With this transference of duties, she also becomes a different moral and social creature, not bound by moral convention (here he fully agreed with Kraus) and possessing a free and intuitive spirit. For Altenberg, women constantly engage in a struggle between an unencumbered existence and the conventional world, always at risk of succumbing to convention.

He made Anita, a purely literary creation (although she may have had a real-life counterpart), his model for the ideal woman, and she appears first in the "See-Ufer" series of his first book, *Wie ich es sehe* (The Way I See It). Ironically placed in a position of traditional male authority, as "Frau Bankdirektor von H" ("bank director"), changed in the fourth edition to "Frau Fabrikdirektor von H" ("factory manager"), she nevertheless represents his "Leitbild seelenvoller Weiblichkeit" ("model of soulful femininity"), his true image of *Innerlichkeit* ("inwardness").⁴⁴ She has no material cares, and can enter into full communion with nature. She passively drinks in nature and possesses an artistic temperament that allows her to "create harmony in her surroundings and in the relationships of those around her."⁴⁵ She becomes an admired object of *Frauenkult* (idolizing of women), but not for her ability to think. Feelings are her domain, but Altenberg believes men too should abandon their traditional realm of thought and rise to the feminine level of emotion and irrationality.

The women in society who came closest to Altenberg's literary model were prostitutes. He, like Kraus, held prostitutes in high esteem, revealing in "Die Primitive" (his term for prostitute) his belief that in contrast to bourgeois women bound by social conventions, these women are free, capable of discovering the inner world, and, untouched by the hypocrisy of modern civilization, stand closer to nature. His Schubert could have been similarly liberated, recognizing in practice the freedom that these women had (or so he imagined), and perhaps using this as a way of embracing emotion and irrationality in a positive sense. Unfortunately it ended Schubert's life early, but that could easily be misread as the ultimate commitment to a principle.

BERG AND SCHUBERT

A very peculiar relationship existed between Altenberg and Alban Berg, and in part this involved Berg's future wife Helene Nahowski, a muse to both of them putting them into a somewhat bizarre platonic *ménage à trois*. The relationship seemed, especially for Altenberg, to have a Schubertian aura about it. Both men in many respects created themselves in their works, rather than the other way round of creating their works autobiographically from themselves, so when Altenberg wrote about himself, Helene, and Berg in three of his poems, "H.N.," "Bekantschaft" ("Acquaintance"), and "Besuch im einsamen Park" ("Visit to a Solitary Park"), saying some condescending things about Berg, the composer could, for the most part, read these without taking offense. When bouts of insanity forced Altenberg to take residence at Steinhof, one of the few people to visit him there was Berg, suggesting Berg could read these poems as poems, separating them from reality, although early in his relationship with Helene Berg did consider Altenberg an impediment.⁴⁶

In many ways Berg himself had much in common with Schubert, although the usually talkative Berg had very little to say about him. Even his notice "Zu Franz Schuberts 100. Todestag" ("On the One-Hundredth Anniversary of Franz Schubert's Death"), published in the *Unterhaltungsblatt der Vossischen Zeitung* in Berlin on 18 November 1928, says more about Vienna than Schubert.⁴⁷ Of course he cared about Schubert, as we can tell from his complaint about the Schubert

abuses at the festivities in 1928, but despite the relative absence of comments, there may be more. Like Schubert, he hailed from Vienna and spent his entire life there, and also as with Schubert, Vienna took very little notice of him, even after the mid-1920s when the successful performance of *Wozzeck* had catapulted him into recognition throughout Europe as one of the leading composers of his generation. With his ever-wry sense of humor, he speculated to his pupil Theodor Adorno, who came to Vienna to study with him in the mid-1920s after completing his PhD at Frankfurt, how the Viennese newspapers might write his obituary. As the two walked together around Schönbrunn, Berg speculated that one writer whom they both knew well might come up with this: “As before him our Schubert, our Bruckner, our poor unforgettable Hugo Wolf, so now he, too, has died of hunger in his supremely beloved, unappreciative native city, which nonetheless carries him deep in her heart. Yet another link in the unending chain of immortals . . .”⁴⁸ Adorno certainly recognized parallels, which did not prompt any laughter:

Reading the narrative of Schubert’s last days in Otto Erich Deutsch’s superb documentation, one cannot escape the impression that precisely the bleak senselessness, the combination of sublime acquiescence and irresponsible indolence of that end was repeated in Berg’s case, as if in his presence, that of the avant-gardist, the past had been suddenly resurrected. That is in no way out of keeping with his music. The identity of the city, her blessed, cursed incorrigibility, may have been of greater significance for the destiny of those two musicians than the hundred years separating them; one of the paradoxical conditions of Berg’s modernity is that not so very much had changed.⁴⁹

Adorno here echoes a chorus of writers offended by the treatment dealt to both composers by their fair city.

Berg may also have said relatively little about Schubert to anyone because it opened a sore wound, going back to a time of his life that he probably thought about with considerable embarrassment later on. When he came to Schoenberg as a pupil in 1904 as a 19-year-old completely lacking in discipline and rigor, he had nothing but songs in his portfolio, and Schoenberg set out to correct this. Six years later

Schoenberg wrote a smug letter to Emil Hertzka, his editor at Universal Edition, explaining the efforts it took to set Berg straight:

But the state he was in when he came to me was such that his imagination apparently could not work on anything but *Lieder*. He was absolutely incapable of writing an instrumental movement or inventing an instrumental theme. You can hardly image the lengths I went to in order to remove this defect in talent. . . . I removed this defect and am convinced that in time Berg will actually become very good at instrumentation.⁵⁰

As Berg's teacher Schoenberg had no qualms about hurting his pupil's feelings, and Berg certainly avoided drawing attention to these early songs, which he never considered worth publishing.

While various influences can be detected in the early songs, none stands out as noticeably as that of Schubert,⁵¹ as Berg's lyrical and harmonic richness shows him to be a similar type of sensualist. As an avid reader, poet, and even cataloguer of literary quotations from before his first meeting with Schoenberg, Berg chose texts that reflect a well-formed aesthetic stance, combining the otherworldliness of Romanticism and decadence from the past and transplanting that into the coffeehouse world of his time. In his choice of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century poets, one notes an inclination toward some of Schubert's texts, especially in the case of Goethe's "Erster Verlust" ("First Loss"), "Grenzen der Menschheit" ("Mankind's Limitations") and "Mignon" ("Kennst du das Land"—"Do You Know That Land"). In fact, these three already show an important side of Berg, as "Erster Verlust" laments the loss of first love, "Grenzen der Menschheit" belongs to Goethe's polarity texts in which logic seems intentionally lacking, and "Mignon," an androgynous character from *Wilhelm Meister*, provides an entry into bisexuality. Berg's fascination with the blending of masculine and feminine reached a climax with his Concerto for Violin, prompted by the theories of Wilhelm Fliess, a colleague of Freud in Berlin.⁵² In part this could have been awakened by a text used by Schubert, which Berg may have thought had the same type of personal association for Schubert that gender blending had for himself. What Schoenberg regarded as a defect remained one of Berg's great strengths, as he never strayed far from writing vocal

music. As a mature composer Berg wrote only four pieces for instruments alone—the Three Pieces for Orchestra, the Chamber Concerto, the Lyric Suite, and the Violin Concerto—and even in these the evidence of his vocal lyricism remains strong, tying him to Schubert in another important way. He may have refrained from talking about Schubert, in much the same way that Schoenberg attempted to deflect the influence of Wagner on himself, which he was loath to admit. Berg would not wish to draw attention to early embarrassments, even if the influence continued in various ways throughout his career.

Berg's first breakthrough, establishing him as a mature composer, came with a vocal work, although a richly orchestrated one, the *Fünf Orchesterlieder nach Ansichtskarten-Texten von Peter Altenberg*, Op. 4 ("Five Songs with Orchestra on Picture Postcard Texts by Peter Altenberg"). The Altenberg texts that he used, appropriated in a sense as his own because of his arrangement of the order, not only reflect his shared views with Altenberg on women and the way that men can assume feminine characteristics, but also reveal something much more personal, involving his relationship with Helene. He achieves this with an aural sensuality bordering on the erotic as he fuses orchestral color and themes⁵³; one could say that this has a visual counterpart in Klimt's *Der Kuss*, in which the garments of the embracing pair seem to blend together but still remain distinct through the patterns in the clothes. The two of them are engulfed in a third design that favors the feminine shape and suggests a fusion that leans toward femininity. A parallel also exists with *Schubert am Klavier*, in which Schubert appears to be completely absorbed by his young muse, as Berg is with Helene.

The *Altenberg Lieder* have no direct musical associations with Schubert, but in some later works these may very well exist. The fusion of tonality and atonality is a notable feature of his musical language, and the key of D minor appears with surprising regularity. D minor can be found in various of his early unpublished piano sonatas, in two songs of Op. 2, The Three Pieces for Orchestra (Op. 6), the important final interlude to *Wozzeck*, and the concert aria *Der Wein*. In a letter to Helene dated 16 July 1909, he spoke of this key as having a clear extramusical significance, referring to "the most glorious D-minor chords of your soul."⁵⁴ While the extramusical properties of this key can in part be explained by his fascination with Strindberg's appropriation of the key in some of his plays,⁵⁵ his musical treatment

may very well owe something to Schubert. In *Der Wein* ("Wine"), in which he even goes so far as to construct his twelve-tone row based on an ascending D minor scale, he allows that key to interact with C major (which can also be found in a variant of the row). Beethoven plays a role here, since Strindberg quotes some of Beethoven's D minor movements that modulate to C major—and Berg wrote enthusiastically about this to Webern, but the musical procedures have more in common with Schubert. Whereas Beethoven always prepares the arrival of C major with a common transitional chord, Schubert does not, as in the opening of "Gretchen am Spinnrade," and this points more directly to Berg's noticeably tonal approach to atonality.

In general, Schubert's tonality has more in common with early twentieth-century composers, as he drifts much further away than any of his contemporaries from traditional functional harmony or tonal relationships, preferring relationships of thirds or minor seconds to fifths. In some cases his tonal scheme outlines a tonal palindrome, as happens in the "Wanderer" Fantasy, and Berg in fact proved to be the ultimate user of musical palindromes, placing them in every one of his major works from the *Altenberg Lieder* onward. Rhythmic patterns also play a crucial role in Berg's works, and, as Mosco Carner points out, one of his models may have been the "Wanderer" Fantasy.⁵⁶ Other parallels between these two composers can be found, going beyond specific procedures to the highest aesthetic level of what they wished to accomplish. In both of his operas, *Wozzeck* and *Lulu*, Berg uses subject matter that leaves us in a dark state of suspended animation, in *Wozzeck* with the most dismal possible view of humanity as other children mock a child whose parents have both been found dead, and in *Lulu* a gruesome murder committed by Jack the Ripper. We may leave the theater emotionally drained and questioning if any type of values exist, but Berg provides a possible answer in the music itself, organized to give a sense-making process to that which makes no sense. Schubert did the same with *Winterreise*, although as the discussion in chapter 6 suggests, not with musical organization so much as with something in the spirit of a lament and the transformation it allows. Schubert's organization of poems in both the Müller cycles points to Berg's similar arrangement and appropriation of poems not only in the *Altenberg Lieder* and Baudelaire's *Der Wein*, but also in his choices and placement of scenes from Georg Büchner's *Wozzeck*.

Others at the time also had strong feelings about Schubert, including Schoenberg and Webern who both prepared orchestral arrangements of songs or dances, and expressed their views as well, as Webern did in the presence of Anton Anderluh, who recalled in his memoirs Webern's special love of Schubert.⁵⁷ Max Reger also orchestrated numerous Schubert songs, and with all these arrangements one senses a commitment to Schubert, the orchestration generally being what Schubert himself might have done. With Klimt and Altenberg, and possibly Berg, though, we have a sense of something very different and special, as Schubert was no mere historical figure to be celebrated by them. Their Schubert still seemed to be among them, living and embodying all those things they held as important, an alien in his own time who landed firmly on their planet and in their orbit. Their notion of "our Schubert" leapt a century ahead without difficulty, making him one of their fin-de-siècle artists.

NOTES

1. Scott Messing, "The Vienna Beethoven Centennial Festival of 1870," *The Beethoven Newsletter* 6, no. 3 (Winter 1991): 59–63. Messing has written at length about Schubert's reception in *Schubert in the European Imagination*, vols. 1 and 2 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006 and 2007).

2. Scott Messing, "Franz Schubert and Viennese Modernity," in *Wien 1897: Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres*, ed. Christian Glanz (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 174–78.

3. Scott Messing, "Klimt's Schubert and the Fin-de-Siècle Imagination," in *Music and Modern Art*, ed. James Leggio (New York: Routledge, 2002), 23.

4. Messing, "Klimt's Schubert," 2–3. For more on the contents of the exhibition see pages 3–5.

5. Messing, "Klimt's Schubert," 3.

6. Juliane Brand, Christopher Hailey, and Donald Harris, eds., *The Berg-Schoenberg Correspondence: Selected Letters* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 380.

7. Christian M. Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting*, trans. Renée Nebehay-King (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 46.

8. Alma Mahler-Werfel, *Diaries 1898–1902*, trans. Anthony Beaumont (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), 143.

9. Messing, "Klimt's Schubert," 13–16.

10. Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt*, 46–7.
11. Messing, “Klimt’s Schubert,” 17.
12. Andrew W. Barker, “Peter Altenberg,” in *Major Figures of Turn-of-the-Century Austrian Literature*, ed. Donald G. Daviau (Riverside, Calif.: Ariadne, 1991), 2.
13. Andrew Barker, *Telegrams from the Soul: Peter Altenberg and the Culture of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1996), 7.
14. Peter Wagner, “Peter Altenbergs Prosadichtung: Untersuchung zur Thematik und Struktur des Frühwerks” (Ph.D. diss., Westfälische-Wilhelmsuniversität, 1965).
15. Camillo Schaefer, *Peter Altenberg: Ein biographischer Essay* (Vienna: Freibord, 1980), 75.
16. Messing, “Klimt’s Schubert,” 21.
17. Messing, “Klimt’s Schubert,” 21.
18. Janet I. Wasserman, “Franz Schubert as Painted by Gustav Klimt and Julius Schmid,” *The Schubertian: Journal of the Schubert Institute* 32 (July 2001): 14.
19. Messing, “Klimt’s Schubert,” 8.
20. Günter Metken calls Schubert a “silhouette” in this painting in *Laut-Malereien: Granzgänge zwischen Kunst und Musik* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1995), 34.
21. Gottfried Fliedl, *Gustav Klimt, 1862–1918: The World in Female Form* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen, 1989), 48.
22. Eduard Hanslick, “Schubert’s ‘Unfinished’ Symphony (1865),” in *Vienna’s Golden Years of Music 1850–1900*, trans. Henry Pleasants III (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 104.
23. Messing’s translation, “Klimt’s Schubert,” 17–18.
24. Messing, “Klimt’s Schubert,” 18.
25. Josephine Simpson, *Peter Altenberg: A Neglected Writer of the Viennese Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987), 84–85.
26. This and some other sections of this chapter were originally published as David Schroeder, “Alban Berg and Peter Altenberg: Intimate Art and the Aesthetics of Life,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 261–94.
27. Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 116–17.
28. Peter Bloom, “Communications,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974): 161–62.
29. Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 9–10.
30. Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 117.

31. Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, vol. 2, trans. Arthur Duke Coleridge (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869), 223.
32. Edward Timms, "Peter Altenberg—Authenticity or Pose?" in *Fin de Siècle Vienna. Proceedings of the Second Irish Symposium in Austrian Studies*, ed. G. J. Carr and Eda Sagarra (Dublin: Trinity College, 1985), 131.
33. Timms, "Peter Altenberg," 133.
34. Bernard Grun, ed. and trans., *Alban Berg: Letters to His Wife* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), 34–35.
35. Harold B. Segel, ed. and trans., *The Vienna Coffeehouse Wits, 1890–1938* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1993), 14.
36. Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, vol. 1, 112.
37. Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, vol. 1, 136–37.
38. Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, vol. 2, 164.
39. Kreissle von Hellborn, *The Life of Franz Schubert*, vol. 2, 164–5.
40. Christopher H. Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 94.
41. Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: Memoirs by His Friends*, trans. Rosamond Ley and John Nowell (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), 266.
42. Gibbs, *The Life of Schubert*, 93.
43. Peter Altenberg, *Nachfehsung* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1916), 157.
44. Wagner, "Peter Altenbergs Prosadichtung," 39.
45. Simpson, *Peter Altenberg*, 99–101.
46. Grun, *Berg: Letters to His Wife*, 19.
47. The full text can be found in Willi Reich, *Alban Berg* (Vienna: Herbert Reichner, 1937), 194.
48. Theodor W. Adorno, *Alban Berg: Master of the Smallest Link*, ed. Juliane Brand and Christopher Hailer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 9.
49. Adorno, *Alban Berg*, 10.
50. Arnold Schoenberg, *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*, ed. Erwin Stein, and trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (London: Faber & Faber, 1964), 23.
51. Almost all who have written about the early songs agree on Schubert's influence. See, for example, Nicholas Chadwick, "Berg's Unpublished Songs in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek," *Music and Letters* 52 (1971): 126; Mosco Carner, *Alban Berg: The Man and The Work* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 80; and Willi Reich, *Alban Berg*, trans. Cornelius Cardew (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), 14.

-
52. David Schroeder, "Berg," in *Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern: A Companion to the Second Viennese School*, ed. Bryan R. Simms (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 241–44.
53. Schroeder, "Berg and Altenberg," 280–90.
54. Grun, *Berg: Letters to His Wife*, 63.
55. David Schroeder, "Berg, Strindberg, and D minor," *College Music Symposium* 30, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 74–89.
56. Carner, *Alban Berg*, 189.
57. Hans Moldenhauer in collaboration with Rosaleen Moldenhauer, *Anton Webern: A Chronicle of His Life and Works* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 218.

Chapter Nine

Writers

SOME COMPOSERS OF THE PAST CONTINUE to fascinate us, not simply as historical relics but because they touch us as profoundly now as they did their contemporaries. In a few cases we see this not only in the musical world but outside that realm as well, which has happened consistently with, for example, Mozart, who has served as inspiration for artists from Alexander Pushkin to Peter Shaffer and Milos Forman. Mozart has prompted writers, painters, and filmmakers to achieve great results because something about him or his works has stirred them not simply to produce biography about an unusual or eccentric life, but to find something that permeates their works at the deepest possible level. Shaffer achieved that with *Amadeus*, exploring in the relationship between Mozart and Salieri the confrontation between the exceptional and the ordinary—how the ordinary person copes with a genius when the genius appears to upset his entire system of beliefs, a type of relationship prevalent in some of Shaffer's other plays as well. Turning it into a costume drama has some dangers since the purists will object to all the historical distortions and miss the playwright's aim amid his apparent assault on authenticity. Few composers aside from Mozart have drawn this type of attention from the other arts; Schubert stands out as a notable exception.

There has of course been no shortage of biographical novels, operettas, and films about Schubert, although these often quickly become historical curiosities; in fact, they are by far the least interesting of Schubert's infiltration of recent works. Some writers have

had a special affinity with Schubert, not only recognizing his ability to probe the human condition at its most disturbing and exhilarating levels, but to feel that with a passion that can only come from intimate understanding. These writers have no particular interest in Schubert biography, but have found that Schubert can give their works an essence that they would otherwise lack. They may take something of a risk in making Schubert so central to their works, since most readers simply will not get it, to say nothing of critics. In some cases, such as Ariel Dorfman's *Death and the Maiden* or Elfriede Jelinek's *Die Klavierspielerin*, critics have recognized the quality without understanding anything of Schubert, and in both cases the quality can be perceived in other ways. The full depth, though, cannot be grasped without an understanding of Schubert, especially for Jelinek. Some writers, despite the uncomprehending critics, have brought Schubert squarely into public view, perhaps even more than Schubert's music itself, and readers will intuit something unusual and special, a recognition in literature of "our Schubert," although not always the Schubert readers would prefer to recognize.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOVELS AND MUSICALS

In contrast to their magisterial Beethoven, whom they lavished with every imaginable spiritual attribute—without, of course, making any scatological outbursts of the type Beethoven actually relished—the early twentieth century saw its Schubert as a shy and pudgy lad in a romantic Vienna, but himself unlucky at love. Rudolf Hans Bartsch titled his Schubert novel with the name that Schubert's friends occasionally used, *Schwammerl*. Now this term of endearment pegged Schubert as an amiably corpulent model of indulgently bad Viennese eating habits, not likely to have any serious girlfriends but compensated by his gift for grinding out syrupy melodies. The name did roughly the same amount of good that "papa" had for Haydn, making him a figure of identification for German and Austrian society, a pleasant lad enjoying the same excesses as everyone else, not to be taken too seriously, who pulls himself up by his bootstraps and endears himself charmingly to all. This Schubert's worst failing was stuffing himself with too much marzipan, and anyone could forgive him for such a saccharine sin.

Bartsch's Schubert-Roman (novel) had a good run, but nothing compared with the operetta that Heinrich Berté based on it, *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (published in English as *Lilac Time*), which premiered during the height of World War I on 15 January 1916 at the Raimund-theater in Vienna. The Viennese have always had a soft spot for operetta, and this one took Vienna and much of the rest of the world by storm, with translations into almost two dozen languages and 100,000 performances in as many as sixty countries.¹ Only in Vienna, also the home of Karl Kraus, could there be such contrasts; when this operetta appeared, Kraus was ruminating about his epic work *Die letzten Tage des Menschheit* (*The Last Days of Mankind*), a scathing attack on the Austrian establishment and the war itself, so bitter in its assault that it abandons satire toward the end in favor of poetry to get at the depth of the horrors. Kraus loved operetta, often performing Offenbach's works in bizarre one-man shows by himself (with a pianist), but what would he have made of a tale of the aspirations of Schubert and his pals Schober, Schwind, and Vogl, and their wooing of three sisters as hard to tell apart as their names Haiderl, Hederl, and Hannerl? There are three girls and four boys (never mind that one of them, Vogl, could almost be their grandfather); one of the boys will not get a girl. Schubert had his hopes set on Hannerl (or was it one of the other H—erls?), but she somehow ends up with Schober, and poor Schubert can do nothing but compose more bittersweet melodies. Berté adapts music by Schubert as the complete score for the operetta, leaving millions who have seen the work wondering if Schubert wrote it that way himself, instead of "Schu-berté."² As one might suspect, a very small audience discovered Kraus's *Die letzten Tage*, available only to the readers of his journal *Die Fackel* (*The Torch*), where it appeared in serial form before publication of the whole in 1922. Kraus could not hold a candle to the transplanted Biedermeier Berté, who allowed a country beset by the grimness of war to wallow in sentimentality, nostalgia, and the escapism of the three Hs and their melodious pursuers.

Eight decades later a new type of Schubert-Roman surfaced, with less schmaltz but now a different type of indulgence. In 1992 Peter Härtling offered up his *Schubert: Zwölf Moments musicaux und ein Roman* (*Schubert: Twelve Moments Musicaux and a Novel*). One may be a little puzzled how the moments musicaux differ from the rest of the novel since these twelve stand apart in chapter titles only, carrying

on the narrative just like the other chapters with titles such as “Salieris Schuler [pupil],” “Der Wanderer,” “Mayerhofer,” or “Winterreise.” Each one of the twelve gets a tempo marking, with everything from *sehr langsam* (very slow) to *geschwind* (fast), but since the narrative in these sections bears no resemblance to the tempo indicator, one can only imagine the author thought it would be clever to spice up his biographical novel with musical terminology.

This late-twentieth-century version of Schubert leaves behind the pathetic figure created by Bartsch and Berté, drawing on some of the biographical explorations of the century, citing many of these in a bibliography at the end. As one would expect, Härtling includes only German studies with one exception by John Reed, but since Härtling’s Schubert appears to be bisexual, one may be a little surprised not to find Maynard Solomon in the acknowledgments. The text makes ample use of quotations from Schubert’s friends, taken of course from Otto Erich Deutsch’s collection of their memoirs; views expressed over half a century after the fact give Härtling no difficulties. As for Schubert’s love life, we find him madly in love with Therese Grob earlier on, with speculation that she wavered because he did not appear manly enough for her. Later in the novel Schubert sleeps with Schober, although he thinks nothing of it despite Bauernfeld’s jokes; Härtling avoids the issue of how homosexuality would have been understood in the 1820s. The descriptions of them in bed, listening to each other breathing, embracing one another, Schober the more aggressive of the two, apparently still meant nothing. Perhaps he hadn’t read Solomon.

Härtling places much emphasis on the relationship between Schubert and his father, deciding this would make good reading in a novel, just as the son/father relationships of Mozart and Beethoven provided juicy material, and certainly the sources give him something to explore. Instead of being a typically authoritarian and devout Roman Catholic Austrian male from the time, Schubert’s father manipulates infernal plots against his naive son. The proof lies in the allegorical story “My Dream,” quoted in full at the center of the novel (actually as the sixth *Moment Musicaux*, *sehr schnell*), and a Freudian view of things heats up with the special relationship Schubert has with his mother and the trauma he suffers when she dies. Politics occasionally came into view, but only because they were an issue at the time, not

because Schubert himself may have been interested. At Schubertiads some people discuss politics, but entirely to the annoyance of Schubert, whose music can be heard less well with the din of subversive discussion in the background. Mostly, though, the Schubertiads become drinking binges, and in these Schubert can happily participate. No longer the cheerful bumpkin of the early nineteenth century who pens good tunes, this Schubert experiences melancholy, and he channels it into music. Since novels cannot play music, we should presumably hear it through the tempo markings of the twelve *Moments Musicaux*, and maybe also when Härtling weaves quotes of song texts into the narrative. In the end, this treatment of Schubert remains as trivial as these attempts to incorporate music into the text, and we find little or nothing beneath the surface. In contrast to Härtling's novel, a different type of Schubert fiction has arisen in recent years that incorporates him into the author's unique narrative, and in some of these we get remarkably close to a deeper understanding of Schubert. Who better than an artist to fathom the workings of another artist, and give us that passion and excitement.

BONNIE MARSON'S *SLEEPING WITH SCHUBERT*

A novel that hit the bookstands in 2004, with the alluring title *Sleeping with Schubert* by Bonnie Marson, appeared that it should have had the best of these qualities.³ Sometimes the name of a composer in a title may actually throw us off the track, such as the film *Beethoven*, neither in any way about the composer—the name belongs to a large and sloppy Saint Bernard—nor gaining any kind of substance that the name of the composer might bestow. Not so with Marson's novel: Schubert plays a very active role here, through an inhabitation of the main character, Liza Durban, a lawyer from Brooklyn with a fairly tedious life and no special aptitude for music aside from the usual childhood piano lessons typical for a girl from an upwardly mobile family. One day Liza finds herself Christmas shopping at Nordstrom, and when the store piano player, after grinding out a muzaked version of "Ave Maria," vacates his spot at the store's mini grand, she, not knowing why, sits down at the piano and proceeds to play it brilliantly, collapsing in a faint after her rhapsodic miracle. She soon discovers that Schubert has inhabited

her body, transforming her life completely as she becomes conscious of him at every moment, and even occasionally dreams his dreams. Her therapist finds the idea intriguing—certainly good for her career to have such a sensational patient—and her lovers find it irksome since Schubert seems to create a *ménage à trois* in bed.

Liza's limited musical knowledge includes little about Schubert, and one suspects that Liza and Marson know about the same amount, although Schubert lovers should not necessarily be put off by that. Still, the apparent ignorance creates an interesting problem for Marson. On the one hand, in selecting a composer for an inhabitation, she could not have made a better choice than Schubert, since the most ardent Schubert fanatics may very well feel that even if not inhabited by Schubert they nevertheless commune with him in a very intimate way. Liza goes so far as to compare the phenomenon to religion, preferring to think of Schubert as supernatural, although not as a deity. In this realm people like herself may be worth provoking, but she doubts that the real God would have any interest in her.⁴ Unlike the great pianist composers such as Mozart, Mendelssohn, Rachmaninov, Ravel, Bartók, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, and a host of others, Schubert as a pianist was not one of these. Curiously, Liza's Schubert joins these ranks of great composer pianists, accomplishing what the Schubert of two centuries earlier could not.

But details of historical accuracy should not concern us here. After all, this Schubert has returned not simply to give Liza a thrill but to fulfill his own agenda, making up some of the ground he lost with his death at a mere thirty-one years, using Liza as a clairvoyant to present the world with his works that might have been, such as the *Snow Sonata*. Marson has no more responsibility to be accurate than Shaffer does with the correct identification of the commissioner of Mozart's *Requiem* or how Mozart died; this novel sinks or swims based on what Schubert can do to change the humdrum existence of a young woman engulfed in the trivialities, disconnections, and numbness associated with her friends, lovers, family, and most of all herself, such as her preoccupations with appearance and possessions. Marson works with an excellent premise, but she cannot find the language to convince the reader of the new-found passion.

One finds the most vivid language in the description of the sexy gown Liza wears for her first performance and the huge stir this causes

in her peculiar family dynamics—especially with her overbearing and materialistic sister—or her interview on a local television talk show. Following the emphasis where it leads gives the work a fairly commercial impression, at times almost an advertisement for Liza’s good old life before Franz. “Commercial” in the case of this novel takes on a new meaning; a CD of various Schubert pieces issued along with the book, curiously has only one piece on it for solo piano, the Impromptu in E flat (thankfully the CD does not include a projected version of the “finished” “Unfinished” Symphony as the novel describes it). A fairly prominent character in the latter part of the novel itself is John D. Doyle, a very sympathetic character and fine singer, who likes to perform lieder with Liza. He also happens to be the recording executive who produces her CDs for Sony; we do not have to guess which recording company issued the actual CD *Sleeping with Schubert*!⁵

ARIEL DORFMAN’S *DEATH AND THE MAIDEN*

Marson may have hoped that Schubert could inject some substance into her otherwise threadbare novel, and the potential existed, but she had no idea what to do with it. Other writers have been extraordinarily successful at this, and have done so without making Schubert the central image in their narratives, although we may be surprised just how important a role Schubert does play since these writers leave it to us to intuit the role instead of hitting us over the head with it. One of these, the 1991 play by the Argentinian-born Chilean citizen Ariel Dorfman, uses a well-known Schubert work (or works) as its title, *Death and the Maiden*.^{6,7} The title could simply be a clever choice, looking at the dark time of imprisonment and torture of the central character Paulina Salas, and the person responsible for torturing her, the “doctor death” Roberto Miranda. By pure chance Paulina’s husband, Gerardo Escobar, brings Dr. Miranda to their home one dark night after the horror in their country, post-Pinochet Chile, has ended (Gerardo has been chosen to head the commission that will investigate the crimes during the years of dictatorship). Recognizing the voice of her torturer, she feels a shock wave prodding her into action. As a survivor, Paulina can have no voice in the proceedings of her husband’s commission, so with full certainty that she now has her oppressor within her grasp,

she takes matters into her own hands. The title fits beautifully, even if the play held no other reference to Schubert.

In fact Schubert does play a role, and this raises some extremely provocative issues, which critics, lacking familiarity with the music, have not noticed. Highly charged by Chilean politics, the play immediately created controversy after its first performance in London in July 1991, prompting some to wonder if such an incendiary scenario could do anything but set back the cause of reconciliation in Chile. Dorfman and his supporters saw it in a very different way, that unimaginable horrors had occurred, and these could not now be swept under the carpet as though they had not really been all that bad.⁸ Paulina lashes out at Roberto with a ferociousness that surprises her husband, binding her former captor and running him through her own kangaroo court, giving her husband the role of lawyer for the defense. Gerardo must face the past as his country must, and his ambivalence quickly shows: having already established a friendly rapport with Roberto, he objects to the treatment Paulina demands, especially since he believes she cannot be absolutely certain about Roberto's identity; because she had been blindfolded in captivity, she now depends purely on sound and smell. Gerardo also has managed to suppress his memory of the reason she had been brutalized so severely: as his assistant while he edited an underground opposition newspaper, her refusal to reveal his identity meant he remained unscathed and she paid the heaviest possible price, of repeated rape and brutal beatings.

Here we have a play not in any way lacking in substance; with or without Schubert it will twist the members of the audience inside out, and the mirror placed in front of the audience at the end in effect puts the audience members on the stage. The first reference to Schubert comes in Act 1, Scene 4, and it is substantial, as Paulina now talks to Roberto after pulling him out of bed in the guest room at gunpoint and tying him up. She steps out to look in his car, and on her return she informs Roberto that she took a cassette out of his car, and she suggests that they listen to some Schubert, *Death and the Maiden*, while she makes a nice breakfast. She starts the cassette player, and we begin to hear the music. She asks if he knows how long it has been since she last listened to this quartet. If it comes on the radio, she turns it off. She avoids going out, although because of Gerardo's position that often proves to be unavoidable, but she always prays they will not put

on Schubert. One night while dining with extremely important people, the hostess happened to put on a piano sonata by Schubert, and she wondered if she should switch it off or leave, but her body decided for her. She felt extremely ill at that moment, and Gerardo had to take her home; the other guests listened to the piece by Schubert and nobody knew what had made her ill. She tells Roberto that he used to be her favorite composer, and she emphatically notes that he still is, with his sad, noble sense of life. She always promised herself the day would come when she would try to recover him, bring him back from the grave, as it were. Now she can sit and listen to this music with Roberto and know that she was right, and that many things will now change. She cannot believe that she was on the verge of throwing her whole Schubert collection out. Speaking more loudly to Gerardo, she asks if he does not also find this quartet marvelous. Then to Roberto she states she will be able to listen to her Schubert again, and even go to concerts as in the past. She asks if he knew that Schubert was homosexual, and answers for him in the affirmative, since he had repeated it over and over again while he played *Death and the Maiden*. She wonders if this is the same cassette, or if he buys a new one every year to keep the sound pure.⁹ Roberto played this quartet for his victims, using it to gain their trust, and as a way of alleviating their suffering, he later claims. He too loves Schubert, a curious thing for victim and oppressor to share.

Curious perhaps, but not unprecedented, and for this Dorfman had to look back no further than the Nazi era and the appropriation of the music of Wagner. Hitler became the ultimate Wagnerite, perhaps even using Wagner's works as a model for his political ambitions and conceptions,¹⁰ but also using Wagner as a battering ram against the sensibilities of Jews. Despite Wagner's own anti-Semitism and manifestations of that in the operas, anti-Semites had no exclusive claim to the music of Wagner, as many assimilated Jews regarded this music one more pillar in the edifice of great German culture they believed that they shared with other Germans. Because of the way the music was used by the Nazis it became repulsive to many Jews in the post-war years, especially in Israel where for many years an unofficial ban existed on the performance of Wagner. When Zubin Mehta broke that ban in 1981, performing excerpts from *Tristan und Isolde* with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, the resulting controversy revealed

strong division on the subject,¹¹ with most members of the orchestra supporting the performance. Many Israelis did not support the ban in the first place, and others may simply have wished to hear the music of Wagner again. In fact, as early as 1941 the tugging on Wagner by both sides was made very apparent by Charles Chaplin in *The Great Dictator*, with the two sides represented by Chaplin playing the Jewish barber and the Aryan dictator, both making equal claim to Wagner through use of the Prelude to *Lohengrin*.¹²

For Paulina, Schubert stands as a complex image, not confined to a single role. Not just a favorite composer, Schubert for her represents everything she values about a civilized society, a nobility of spirit that vanished during the years of oppression and needed, like civilized society itself, to be recovered—to be brought back from the grave. Dorfman believes the world is sufficiently populated with Schubert lovers that this image will be understood, that Schubert can take on the status of representing what we all value most highly. In case we do not get it, he puts the strongest possible words into Paulina's mouth, that her road to return depends on ridding the world of vermin like Roberto, so she can listen to her Schubert without thinking that he will also be listening to it, ruining her day, her Schubert, her country, and her husband.¹³ We know how much country and husband mean to her because she puts these beside Schubert, "my Schubert," now the ultimate image not only of passion but of possession. With this grouping, she does not have to go on at length about her love of country and husband because the association with Schubert amply takes care of that. Even beyond that, Schubert becomes the symbol of the struggle for justice, now as politically charged as personally meaningful.

But Schubert hovers above the play as much more than a symbol or image, in fact giving Paulina the strength to get through her hideous ordeal. In his role as Dr. Death, Roberto may have thought in a perverse way that playing *Death and the Maiden* actually did alleviate suffering for the victims, although since it did not go too far against his grain to rape Paulina, one cannot take his statement on this too seriously. A fellow torturer persuaded him that the female victims like being raped, and if he puts on that sweet music of his, they'll become even cozier.¹⁴ She was initially taken in by the good-cop–bad-cop routine in which Roberto played the good cop with a gentler approach, and beyond that he played the Schubert quartet. On hearing it, she

now recalls, there is no way to describe the effect of hearing that glorious music in the darkness, not having eaten for three days, when your body is going to pieces.¹⁵ Gerardo freely admits that he would have broken down at the first hint of torture, but Paulina incredibly got through it, and nothing helped her to do that more than Schubert. She says she heard a Schubert quartet, not saying which one or which movement, but we can probably presume the second movement of *Death and the Maiden*, the theme and variations on Schubert's song of the same name. She now responds to Death's role not as an ogre, but as a consoling friend, and in her brush with death it appeared she could isolate this aspect of Schubert, finding the highest life-affirming value in this rendition of death.

Schubert also plays a darker role in this play, and Dorfman sets this up through a brilliant use of very simple technology—two cassette recorders. Paulina uses one of them to play Roberto's recording of the Schubert quartet, while she gives another machine to Roberto to record his confession for her kangaroo court, which he does while the Schubert continues to play. As he records his confession, everything comes together: we hear Roberto's voice overlapping with Paulina's in the darkness and the second movement of *Death and the Maiden*.¹⁶ At that very moment she has been explaining what the Schubert meant to her, and in his confession he explains how he thought the Schubert would alleviate suffering of the prisoners. After this explanation a new stage direction indicates that the lights go up as if the moon were coming out. Roberto makes his confession into the cassette recorder, and the Schubert fades. She continues, describing the horrors of torture, no longer with actual Schubert music in the background, but it is as though she has invoked one of the destructive movements in Schubert, the slow movements of the Quartet in G or the Quintet in C, Schubert now offering no consolation as he does in *Death and the Maiden*, but only raw devastation and annihilation. At Schubert's darkest moments one must question if there can be any type of recovery, and Paulina surely struggles with the same demons. She thinks it may be possible if she destroys her oppressor, but even that offers no guarantee. If she were to kill him out of revenge, where would she stand in the civilized society she still holds dear?

Gerardo, a custodian of fairness and justice, struggles with the same dilemma, wavering between the need to avenge Paulina (and the

people) or to go about the business of seeking justice in an authorized way. As he moves closer toward her position and she vents her darkest thoughts of destruction, they reach a state that Schubert knew well and occasionally reveals in his music. The cassette players carry both the voice of Roberto and the Schubert quartet, a fused electronic reproduction that makes them as one, one as odious as the other. This fusion proves to be problematic for Paulina in other ways as well. She believes she has now recovered her beloved Schubert, and all the humanizing things that means, but Schubert never lets us escape the other side, reminding us constantly that we can never return to the beautiful view of the world we seem convinced existed at one time before things fell apart. The new world that Paulina must bravely enter is forever tainted; Schubert will not only help her through it, but he will remind her that it is nothing like the beautiful world she thought she once knew. She, the devastated Maiden, will be led by an ambiguously comforting and ominous voice of Death.

Schubert has been our guide in this play through every possible emotion, wholesome and hideous, and Dorfman does not allow us to slink away without contemplating how we would respond if we were in Paulina's or Gerardo's shoes. The play ends in ambiguity, no repentance from Roberto and no death blow from Paulina, with the audience becoming the fourth actor as a giant mirror descends so they no longer see the actors but only themselves, forcing the audience members to look at themselves, as Dorfman puts it.¹⁷ The play ends with an imaginary concert, and Paulina and Gerardo sit in the actual audience. Like that audience, they face the giant mirror; banal conversation before the music mixes not being able to name the murderers with Paulina's ability to mix a terrific margarita.¹⁸ The music starts, *Death and the Maiden* of course, and now as audience members Paulina and Gerardo look at each other and then toward the stage into the mirror. The mirror may seem a heavy-handed ploy, but in fact it does something that Schubert also does, as I discuss in earlier chapters. It completely eliminates the distance between the audience and the play, making the audience part of the play, being forced through self-consciousness to address the issues as virtual players on the stage. Dorfman must have had some sense that this welding of play and audience could be given an infusion by having a performance of Schubert going on at this final moment, in fact giving Schubert the

final say: the final stage direction before the curtain states that the lights dim while the music plays on and on.¹⁹ Just as Schubert invites his audience as performers into his world, Dorfman does the same, not with words at the end, but with the voice of Schubert, whose presence adds an intriguing dimension to the play. The exit to the theater now becomes the stage door exit.

ELFRIEDE JELINEK

Elfriede Jelinek joined an elite group of writers after winning the 2004 Nobel Prize in Literature, and public interest in her and her work has of course taken a quantum leap forward. We have seen, as one would expect, no shortage of critical interest in her writing for many years in numerous books and articles,²⁰ with some critics displaying great insight, but others following predictable academic trends. In one notable respect literary critics have been at a distinct disadvantage in assessing her work, and this lies in the extent to which she fuses music into it—not just music in general but Franz Schubert in particular.²¹ To be sure she is not the first outstanding author to incorporate music into her writing—one can cite Poe, Baudelaire, Schnitzler, and Joyce as just a few of a long list, and their use of music has often mystified critics. Jelinek forces us to confront the music, but virtually no critic has complied.

We sometimes forget that certain authors were musicians before they became serious writers: a singing competition in Dublin won by the tenor John McCormack about a century ago had a runner-up, another tenor, by the name of James Joyce. Jelinek comes by her knowledge of music legitimately, as both a pianist and composer; she began her piano studies as a child and then continued in composition at the esteemed Vienna Conservatory, receiving the diploma in organ in 1971 while studying theatre and art history at the University of Vienna. In her novel *Die Klavierspielerin* of 1983 she weaves her background in autobiographically, but of course one needs to be cautious about how far to take that. In 2001 director Michael Haneke released his internationally successful film adaptation of the novel, *La pianiste*, and he has noted that Jelinek intended the title, literally *The Piano Player*, as a put-down of the central character, *Pianistin* being

the normal German word for a female pianist.²² The usual translation of the title for both the novel and the film has been *The Piano Teacher*, attempting perhaps a different type of put-down in English.

Jelinek throws a direct confrontation with music at us on her website, all in German with one exception. In 1998 she posted a substantial essay on her website called “Zu Franz Schubert” (“About Franz Schubert”), presenting it in both German and English.²³ She meticulously translates the German (although not always with complete accuracy), adding some details that would not be evident to non-German readers, such as the peculiar way that the German language treats the interlocking of time and space; she also provides the English version with the title “Unruly Paths Trodden Too Late.” Without a doubt Schubert means something to her that he does not to others, and this connection (perhaps more a disconnection) drives her on the path she has taken as a writer.

Any critic or reader perusing this entry on her website and hoping to find a quick answer to the importance of Schubert to her writing will be disappointed, since this is a difficult read, and it will be self-evident to almost no one what her dark ruminations have to do with their beloved Schubert or any other Schubert they may recognize. In this essay, though, we have one of the most significant statements anyone has made about Schubert in the past two centuries. No Schubert scholar has understood what she does, and one may have to admit that no one can get to the bottom of the subtlety, complexity, and at times incomprehensibility of one great artist’s mind better than another artist equally capable of subtlety, complexity, and obscure murkiness, especially when the earlier artist stands as a driving force for the one making the connection.

While Schubert turns up in various of her works, sometimes obtusely, nothing gets to the heart of the matter as *Die Klavierspielerin* does. Schubert stands center stage in this extraordinarily disturbing opus, so much so that one has little hope of grasping the work without fathoming the role that Schubert plays. Before tackling the novel, we need to ground ourselves in the Schubert essay on her website, although the end result may be more dislocation than grounding. At the beginning she immediately throws us off the track of anything definite, posing questions instead of answers—answers may very well not be possible, and even this mode of inquiry may be misdirected,

since some modes of discourse neither question nor answer anything, leaving only mystery. Her compatriots may be comforted by fond national symbols, such as folk tunes that seem to represent stability, but in the hands of Mahler or Schubert these can be highly unstable, not meaning what their surface impressions suggest, in fact generating something unsure and reflecting an Austria fundamentally alien to the Mahler of Jewish heritage or the dispossessed Schubert.

The battleground of Austrian order and dispossession takes on special meaning for Jelinek, whose overbearing mother hailed from the Viennese elite, while her father, of Jewish Czech descent, survived the Nazi era by living a life of complex subterfuge. With these parents, Jelinek's post-war Austria bore little resemblance to that of most citizens, dominated by a fundamental principle that nothing is what it seems, that we live lies to survive gas chambers, or that we live lies for no good reason, creating imaginary stabilities. Those who recognize the "nothingness beneath their feet" may still seek something more solid, but the attempt leads to "an endless abasement" (*Erniedrigung*), a key work in the essay,²⁴ one she associates with Schubert as a composer and herself as a writer. Schubert leaves us with nameless illusion, the Schubertian vacuum, where the music, while appearing confident, in fact reveals certainty of nothing. The adoring public misses the point, trying to make the beloved figure, celebrated once again in 1997 on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his birth as the native Viennese son who made good, into something he cannot possibly be, finding a national hero in one who loathed much about his homeland, always perched on the brink of total despair if not completely plunged into it. She compares this with the madness of Schumann in his late period (and unfortunately inadvertently changes Schumann's name to Schubert in the English translation).

She backs up her observations with references to specific musical works, two late piano sonatas, the first movement of the Sonata in B flat (D960) and the second movement of the preceding one in A (D959), a movement discussed in chapter 6. Here she appears to indulge in some misrepresentation herself, especially concerning the slow movement of D959, which she explains with one of Schubert's favorite images, the wanderer, in this case focusing on the theme that does not find its way back to what it had been. She says nothing about the destruction and annihilation of the central part of this movement,

where the memory of the theme has been beaten into complete submission by musical violence. Her omission of what happens in the second section of the movement appears to have been picked up by Michael Haneke in his film adaptation, to be discussed in the next chapter, in which we hear this movement at key points, but never the second section.

Instead of the middle section, Jelinek emphasizes the rumbling bass near the end, a thorny impediment making the return of the original theme untenable and preventing a comfortable ending, at the last moment being “held by the ankle,” setting up what we will most likely miss—how something is shown and encounters us in a deceptive way. In an unfortunate translation at this point in the essay she notes the theme “does not find its way back even into the tonic key.”²⁵ Of course it does return in the tonic (or home) key, but in German she had used “*Grundton*,” not “*Tonika*.” Her *Grundton* does not literally mean tonic key, but refers more generally to the fact that the theme is no longer what it was originally, now shrouded by triplet figures (not present at the beginning but coming from the violent middle section), and just before the rumbling bars of low F sharps it veers momentarily away from the home key. With her emphasis on dispossession, certainty of nothing, things not meaning what they seem (including misrepresentation of the artist by the artist), and especially abasement, all of these framed by Schubert, we can approach her novel much better equipped to cope with its most disturbing aspects.

Jelinek lures us into wondering to what extent *Die Klavierspielerin* may be autobiographical because of her own early development as a pianist, the prodding of her mother, and her experience as a student at the Vienna Conservatory. Her protagonist, Erika, has a name not very different from Elfrieda, and even the family name, Kohut, like her own, while familiar in Vienna, stems from Eastern European origins, adding an element alien to Vienna. Jelinek, of course, is far too canny to give us autobiography, whether or not similarities do exist; like her notion of Schubert, we can never be certain what an artist wishes to represent, and artists themselves cannot be certain of this. Like a person, a novel can be an elaborate piling up of contradictions, incongruities in life that become non sequiturs in writing, with no Hegelian attempt to reconcile or even make sense of them; Beethoven attempts musical détente, but Schubert does not, and neither does Jelinek.

Schubert sets off as a wanderer on a journey in all of his major works with no sense of destination, encountering the commonplace and the unexpected, signposts that point nowhere, indulgence in sensuous pleasure, brushes with madness and catastrophe, and struggles with the despair of knowing that return will probably not be possible.

The bleakest journeys happen in the dead of winter, with no spring waiting at the end, and, like Schubert, Jelinek takes us on a winter journey, complete with allusions to Schubert's song cycle *Winterreise* throughout the novel. Erika becomes a grim wanderer on a path in the forest²⁶ and she avoids the paths that other wanderers have taken,²⁷ just as Schubert's wanderer does in "Der Wegweiser," the twentieth song from *Winterreise*, who asks, "Why then do I avoid the paths taken by other travelers?" Erika, after all, has done nothing wrong, nothing that would cause others to shy away from her,²⁸ and neither has Schubert's wanderer (and Wilhelm Müller's, the poet whose texts Schubert sets), who laments in the second strophe of "Der Wegweiser" that "Yet I have committed nothing that should make me avoid humanity—what crazy desire drives me into the wilderness?" Erika also finds herself driven forward by something behind her.²⁹ Like *Winterreise*'s "Wegweiser" (signpost), standing on the road pointing to towns that cannot be destinations, Erika originates from a family of signposts standing isolated in the countryside,³⁰ and one of these posts, her father, points to madness and the asylum in which he is confined.

Other *Winterreise* indicators leap off the pages, and Jelinek refers to the song cycle directly, as Walter Klemmer, the student with whom Erika has a bizarre affair, projects himself into the role of the Schubert protagonist when he does not get from Erika what he wants. On some days when she intentionally withdraws from him, Klemmer plays *Winterreise* on a record player repeatedly, and hums along quietly. The next day, he informs his teacher that only Schubert's sorrowful song cycle can calm the mood that he experienced yesterday, for which he holds Erika responsible. Something in him resonates with Schubert, who, when he wrote "Einsamkeit" ["Loneliness"], must have experienced exactly, Klemmer claims, what he experienced the day before. They even bear their suffering in the same rhythm, Schubert and little Klemmer. He knows he is small in comparison with Schubert. But on evenings like yesterday, he does not do badly in comparison with

Schubert.³¹ Klemmer uses Schubert, and *Winterreise* in particular, for consolation. Erika, on the other hand, lives the fury of the torrent under the frozen surface of the brook, as in the seventh song, "Auf dem Flusse" ("On the River"): she remembers Schubert's expression marks, and she is thrown into turmoil. Her water goes wild and boils. These marks extend from screams to whispers, not from loud speech to gentle speech.³² Another *Winterreise* allusion reinforces a specious impression, pointing to "Täuschung" ("Delusion"), the song just before "Der Wegweiser," in which "A light dances happily before me," revealing "behind ice and night and terror, a bright, warm house, and a loving soul in it." Erika's delusion takes the form of her own apartment and her mother within when she wishes to evade Klemmer: her home draws her toward it, as though signaling from its gate and door. Warm light beams envelop the teacher. Erika submerges as a quick dot of light on Mother's radar system.³³

Madness lurks throughout the novel; the signpost of Erika's father draws her ever further down the grim path it discloses, prompting her to beg, in the form of a letter, for rape and torture from Klemmer, when she really wants affection and tenderness. In the end, she gets what she asks for, having offended his masculine sensibilities beyond his breaking point. The next morning, Erika pursues Klemmer with a knife, and we expect one of them will die, either Klemmer for his crime (although he has done nothing more or less than she instructed him to do), or Erika in putting an end to her degraded existence. Neither happens: after seeing him with others, she stabs herself too high to hit her heart or a lung, and only prolongs her life in deeper madness, standing on the street in front of the Secession gallery before walking home, debased, her pathetic song blunted, as though accompanied by the hurdy-gurdy of the final song of *Winterreise*.

The novel seems to run parallel to *Winterreise*, freely sharing its images from beginning to end, and wandering not unlike Müller's text and Schubert's music, the latter avoiding strong tonal references, skidding away from the home key but finding some of his favorite musical haunts such as the Neapolitan area (flat II) and more exotic, distant, and even deceptive keys, notably flat VI, in fact ending there with no hope of tonal recovery. The non-structure of *Winterreise* on the surface seems like the form of the novel, but that would be far too simple, falling into a predictable rut, at odds with the Schubert of her

website essay, who defies anything reasonable or obvious, revealing the novel in a manageable dimension, compelling it to be something it is too elusive to become.

Certainly the form (using that term loosely) of a novel can run parallel to musical form, and a novel as “musical” as this one seems to suggest the possibility, going to a level beyond the images to the most fundamental aspects of structure. Jelinek drops various clues for us, along with the *Winterreise* ones, embracing instrumental as well as vocal music. Instrumental possibilities may be more likely, since Klemmer found comfort in *Winterreise*, not Erika, and in fact she claims she cannot express her emotions vocally, only pianistically.³⁴ What emotions these may be we are not certain, since throughout she has frequently felt nothing. In the essay Jelinek briefly flirts with the ruse that “music only means itself, because it can only be explained by itself,” although she concedes “in Schubert’s case, it is different.”³⁵

In the novel she plays with this notion of music meaning only itself, writing with biting irony about a stupid public that assumes music raises spirits, or, in contrast, refuses to allow music to transcend anything. She writes that as one of the arts, with which one can stick together the world, music rings out, projecting a very tiny world. Erika’s clawing left hand, paralyzed in incurable awkwardness, scratches weakly on several keys. Erika wants to soar to exotic heights, which deaden the senses and blow the mind. She does not soar, but figuratively she does not even get to the Lego gas station.³⁶

Even worse, she calls music a bloodsucker, a notational prison in which the five staff lines have been governing her ever since she first began to think. This notation system, along with her mother, has restricted her in an unrelenting net of regulations and precise laws.³⁷ Someone like Klemmer can find sensuality in music, and while for Erika music and sexual pleasure can be compared, that has more to do with hard work to get results than anything ecstatic. But, bound to contradict herself, music has often consoled Erika in times of difficulty.³⁸

A possible instrumental form for the novel could be sonata form, the standard first-movement form (which can occur in other movements as well) for instrumental works from roughly the middle of the eighteenth century until well into the twentieth century, from Haydn if not earlier to Shostakovich and possibly beyond. The term *form* is

only marginally useful here since *procedure* seems more accurate, giving composers full range to present something highly dramatic with sonata form, or, if they like, a movement not dramatic at all. By the time Beethoven and Schubert used the procedure, it had been around for at least half a century, and in sending it off in new directions, these composers could “break the rules” based on certain assumptions made about form in the eighteenth century. Generally the tonal scheme had defined the form, not the number or placement of themes, and the tonal design yielded a peculiar two-part format with three sections: exposition, development, and recapitulation (with perhaps an introduction or coda also added). The tonal plan drew a line between the exposition and development, a division often reinforced with markings indicating that the exposition would be repeated, as would the combined development and recapitulation.

Jelinek helps us along with this possibility for the novel, with Erika recounting some lectures she gave on Beethoven’s sonatas, in fact obscuring whether she means *sonata* or *sonata form*. The great variety of treatments, even in early Beethoven, raises questions of what the much-abused word *sonata* actually means. One has to track down new laws in this highly dramatic musical form, in which feeling often shuns form, although she suggests this is not the case with Beethoven.³⁹ The student Klemmer, emboldened by his sexual desire for his teacher, forces his musical opinions on her like unwanted sex, blathering on that he can love Beethoven’s sonatas only from Op. 101 and later.⁴⁰ In this work, Beethoven completely breaks the mold of sonata form, giving a first movement only vaguely suggestive of the form, and in fact resolves the musical problems in the finale. This discussion of form may point to the novel’s form, also a type of two-part form in three parts. The work has two defined parts, part two starting just after one-third of the way through, setting off part one as the exposition. The longer second part appears to divide into two sections, although like the amorphous Op. 101, does not reveal clearly where the recapitulation begins.

The development largely involves the sexual encounter of Erika and Klemmer, while the exposition sets up the mother-daughter relationship (of course not exclusively). The recap could arrive when mother and daughter again come into focus, now, as normally happens in sonata form, with the recap accounting dramatically for the

events of the development, in this case the two relationships coming into conflict—the struggle for Erika's loyalty and the conflict between Klemmer and Mother. Here the sonata form also has an introduction, our acquaintance with Erika as a bull in the Viennese china shop, hoping to inflict misery on fellow travelers on city trams, and a coda, Erika with the knife. Sonata form seems appealing, but only to a limit; Beethoven plays a very minor role in this novel, unlike the central figure Schubert, and it would be misguided to give the form to a composer as buoyant and utopian as Beethoven, especially considering the amount of destruction and degradation in the work. Even Op. 101 does finally resolve its issues, while Erika clearly does not reconcile hers, more or less ruling out a Beethoven-inspired sonata form as the novel's form.

This brings us back to Schubert. When Beethoven deprives us of coordinates, cutting us loose as he does in the opening movement of Op. 101, he does not suspend us in that state indefinitely, but will lead us back with the requisite signposts, setting things up so the finale addresses the problem raised in the first eight bars of the work, resolving the problem spectacularly and satisfyingly. Schubert gives us no such satisfaction as his problems often do not resolve, and in many cases, while we know a problem exists, we may not be at all certain what it is. The source of violence in some of Schubert's movements does not arise from anything we have been able to hear, such as opposition among keys and themes, or even stability challenged by instability; the violence often comes out of thin air, sometimes completely lacking warning, leaving the listener bewildered. How can there be resolution if the forces at odds cannot be recognized or defined?

At least one of the sonatas noted by Jelinek in her Schubert essay, the second movement of the Piano Sonata in A (D959), turns up in the novel being played by Klemmer for his teacher, he apparently not having a clue what to do with it. The sexual encounter between Klemmer and his teacher in the Conservatory's women's restroom (frustrating in the extreme to him since she will not let him ejaculate—perhaps her revenge on Brahms, that musician of unfulfilled people, especially women⁴¹), after Erika has put crushed glass in the coat pocket of a pretty flute student she perceived as a rival to Klemmer's affections, has, to say the least, altered the student-teacher relationship. Klemmer has become lazy and sloppy, makes mistakes, not even knowing

what key he's in as he modulates here and there senselessly.⁴² As he gets further from A major, Erika feels a threatening avalanche of broken bits of rubbish rolling over her, perhaps like the shards of glass in the girl's pocket; for him, this rubbish is pleasant, feeling like the beloved weight of the woman pressing down on him.⁴³

Erika warns him that he is committing a sin against Schubert, perhaps the only sin she actually cares about, and as Schubert takes us into the extremes of the mid-section of the movement, Klemmer thinks about the mountains and valleys of Austria—about the many so-called charms that this country possesses. Worst of all, Klemmer plays the sonata like a Biedermeier piece, or a German dance by Schubert. He soon breaks off because his teacher jeers at him: despite his bragging about athletic prowess and hiking adventures, he has likely never actually seen a very steep cliff, an especially deep gorge, or a stream flowing wildly. Schubert expresses these extreme contrasts, especially in this unique sonata.⁴⁴ To her this work screams horror and degradation: how could he imagine it to be an Austrian landscape?

Here we have something much closer to the novel's essence and structure, since the movement in question offers sweet comfort followed by a plunge into the deepest abyss. The first part of this *andantino* movement, the charming melody filled with nostalgia, could parallel the love side of the love-hate relationship Erika has with her mother; it may be somewhat repetitive, but so charming that we do not tire of it. The second section goes further and further off the rails, as the description in chapter 6 notes, almost ceasing to be music as it becomes wildly chaotic, certainly paralleling Erika's dark side—her fights with Mother, her visits to the lowest peep shows on the city's fringes, her voyeurism at the Prater, her habit of hiding in bushes near copulating couples, and her confusion of voyeurism and real sex, outlining to Klemmer the abusive bondage-sex she claims she desires (but actually does not). As a voyeur she could live a secret life unknown to her mother, but not as a sexual participant; in that case Klemmer would defile their sanctuary—the apartment with its one bed that she and her mother share.

The first two sections of the Schubert movement invoke the most extreme opposites possible, comparable to the extremes outlined in the novel. Some of these, such as the love-hate relationship with Mother or even her own view of herself as an evil spirit and an angel, may be

manageable. Some matters can even be more or less swept under the carpet, such as the extreme antipodal view of Vienna that emerges, the Vienna of upright citizens going about their business obsessed with order and stability in contrast to the depraved Vienna under train trestles or behind bushes at the Prater. Some of the opposites, though, cannot fit into any type of plan or be comprehended. Erika craves sanctuary, not unlike Gretchen in Schubert's and Goethe's "Gretchen am Spinnrade," but her desire for self-destruction defies explanation. Her self-mutilation gives a peculiar pleasure, although not the feeling of pain that she might like to get from it. Frequenting peep shows, the only woman among men with the crudest possible desires, in sperm-splattered cubicles, cannot be explained. And her letter to Klemmer, insisting the only kind of sex she will permit is with her bound and gagged, suffering excruciating pain as he degrades her, escapes the imagination, especially since she really hopes he will be kind and gentle. We read that her innocent wishes alter over the years into a destructive greed, a wish to annihilate.⁴⁵ The explanation that with one hand Erika has been playing the keyboard of reason and with the other the keyboard of passion⁴⁶ puts the blame on music, especially the piano, and that proves to be about as close as we get to an explanation.

In this second movement of the Schubert sonata the original material returns, but it has been compromised, sullied by the triplet figures so common in the middle section, and in the last statement of the melody the tonic temporarily evaporates. Even the recovery of the tonic does not bode well, as it comes with chords over the low, dispirited F sharps, fading into oblivion, starting *ppp*, with a *fermata* (pause) on the last bar. After such disjointed and destructive wandering, a return to the way things were before no longer presents itself as an option, and the last word in this case, a fade into the unknown, gives instability as menacing as the violence of the middle. Jelinek also recognizes the principle of no return, noting it at the beginning of the novel, near the end, and at various points en route. Near the beginning, after a spat with Mother, Erika takes care to shed some more tears, since Mother is old already and will eventually die. And Erika's youth has passed. She reflects that all things pass, and seldom do they return.⁴⁷ Strolling through the Prater, she sees youthful men young enough to be her children, and this invokes the thought that

everything that happened prior to this age is irrevocably gone and can never come back.⁴⁸

Such a realization may force a choice, in her case between Mother and Klemmer, but the choice in turn forces something unbearable: Erika can't have both of them together, and neither can she have just one, because then she would miss the other horribly.⁴⁹ Even the old love-hate relationship with Mother cannot be rekindled, especially the love, which Erika tries one last, desperate time to awaken, throwing herself on her mother: she attempts a half-hearted love offensive to divert Mother from thinking of far-reaching consequences for their life together, such as considering the worst option, which is a separate bed for Erika.⁵⁰

The parallel with Schubert seems to suggest that the form of the novel, in musical terms, is ambiguous, despite the fact that in the case of this sonata movement Schubert does use a three-part form. In similar movements in other works, the violence can come in waves, as in the slow movements of the Piano Trio in E flat (D929) or the String Quartet in G (D887). More to the point is Jelinek's description in the Schubert essay of what she hears happening in the Sonata in A, in which "the theme wanders about and cannot find itself again and cannot find where to stop. It keeps remembering its starting point, meets, as if by chance, a side theme that takes a brief glance out of the window to see if there is something there, but immediately comes back again and goes on wandering round in circles."⁵¹ She discusses this wandering at length, and its parallel to what we can know or understand, as something being shown, the way it encounters us, "in order to be able to constitute us as subjects without our knowing beforehand who or what we are." She stands with Schubert on quicksand, trying to grasp the imponderable as they sink down together. No writer has so brilliantly come to terms with Schubert, making him an essential part of her work; not all will share her dark outlook, but knowing what she does about what we do not know offers a stunning way of hearing what cannot be heard.

NOTES

1. Christopher H. Gibbs, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 297.

2. Richard Traubner, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 425.

3. Bonnie Marson, *Sleeping with Schubert* (New York: Random House, 2004).

4. Marson, *Sleeping*, 277.

5. The back cover of the CD returns the favor, with the note “Don’t miss *Sleeping with Schubert*, a novel by Bonnie Marson available wherever books are sold.”

6. Ariel Dorfman, *Death and the Maiden* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991).

7. This section is a revision of my article “Dorfman, Schubert, and *Death and the Maiden*,” which first appeared in *Comparative Literature and Culture* 9, no. 1 (2007), <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol9/iss1/18/>.

8. Robert A. Morace, “The Life and Times of *Death and the Maiden*,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 42 (2000): 135–53.

9. Dorfman, *Death*, 21–22.

10. Joachim Köhler, *Wagner’s Hitler: The Prophet and His Disciple*, trans. Ronald Taylor (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

11. Nancy Uscher, “Wagner, Strauss, and Israel,” *The American Music Teacher* 33, no. 6 (June/July 1984): 8–11.

12. David Schroeder, *Cinema’s Illusions, Opera’s Allure: The Operatic Impulse in Film* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 205–06.

13. Dorfman, *Death*, 63.

14. Dorfman, *Death*, 60.

15. Dorfman, *Death*, 58.

16. Dorfman, *Death*, 58.

17. Dorfman, *Death*, 66.

18. Dorfman, *Death*, 68.

19. Dorfman, *Death*, 68.

20. One finds a modest number of books and articles before 2004, and an explosion of critical writing since she won the Nobel Prize for Literature. Not all of the recent writing supports the awarding of the prize.

21. One of the few critics with anything to say about Schubert, Juliet Wigmore, does so only superficially, with a few references to the *Winterreise* text, in “Sex, Violence and Schubert. Michael Haneke’s *La pianiste* and Elfriede Jelinek’s *Die Klavierspielerin*,” in *Processes of Transposition: German Literature and Film*, ed. Christine Schönfeld and Hermann Rasche (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 303–04.

22. Christopher Sharrett, “The World That Is Known: An Interview with Michael Haneke,” *Cineaste* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 30.

23. Elfriede Jelinek, “About Franz Schubert,” www.elfriedejelinek.com (8 January 2008).

-
24. Jelinek, "About Franz Schubert."
 25. Jelinek, "About Franz Schubert."
 26. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986), 26.
 27. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 142.
 28. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 142.
 29. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 202.
 30. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 17.
 31. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 171.
 32. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 188.
 33. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 201.
 34. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 190.
 35. Jelinek, "About Franz Schubert."
 36. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 63.
 37. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 192.
 38. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 167.
 39. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 153.
 40. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 120.
 41. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 40.
 42. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 187.
 43. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 187.
 44. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 187.
 45. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 86.
 46. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 151.
 47. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 12.
 48. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 151.
 49. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 200.
 50. Jelinek, *Die Klavierspielerin*, 236.
 51. Jelinek, "About Franz Schubert."

Chapter Ten

Film

WE CONTINUE TO LISTEN TO SCHUBERT with enthusiasm at concerts and on recordings, amateurs still love to play his music, and novelists keep finding innovative ways of writing about him, but perhaps the most striking effect of Schubert on posterity lies in his presence in the medium that has dominated the past century, cinema. As with novels, my interest here is not in film biographies of Schubert, although there have been many, starting at least as early as 1918 with the silent *Märtyrer seines Herzens* (*Martyr of His Heart*), another eight in the silent era, and at least another half dozen sound biographies before Fritz Lehrer's *Mit meinen heissen Tränen—Notturmo* (*With My Burning Tears—Nocturne*) of 1986, which, along with *Fremd bin ich eingezogen* (*I Arrived a Stranger*) in 1978, finally treated Schubert in a less than saccharine way.¹ Instead, I focus on films that with only one or two exceptions are not about Schubert, but instead incorporate his music and in some cases ideas about him into the film, often in a very meaningful way.

My focus will be on films that came after the end of the silent era, although the music of Schubert was used frequently in silent films, often by theater pianists and organists, and also in the scores prepared for orchestral accompaniments in larger theaters. In no way do I intend this chapter as a compendium of Schubert's music in sound films,² but instead I look at a number of films that incorporate Schubert in especially interesting ways. Along with these one finds many others that use Schubert as background music, especially the

“Unfinished” Symphony, and in some of these one has no idea why this music turns up aside from its familiarity. The films included here are almost without exception very high quality films by some of the finest directors of the twentieth century such as Buñuel, Hitchcock, Kurosawa, Wilder, Kubrick, Allen, Blier, Polanski, and Haneke, and often the director had very strong ideas about the role of Schubert in the film. These films come from about ten countries on four different continents, indicating the genuinely international nature of Schubert’s appeal. In a fairly large number of these films, about two-thirds of the ones discussed here, performers actually play the music of Schubert in the film, making it part of the diegesis, and since the characters as well as the audience hear the performance, it gives the music special significance, especially when the characters discuss the music as well as listen. The time span covers 1930 to the present. In the United States sound in cinema remained a fledgling technology in 1930, soundtracks by then having replaced the experiment with the vitaphone in the late 1920s; in Europe in 1930, sound had not yet become universally accepted. It should not surprise us that the music of Schubert is a part of soundtracks from the very earliest stages of the technology, prompting directors to take some very interesting cinematic steps.

L’AGE D’OR

One of the first out of the gate was Luis Buñuel, a Spaniard by birth who made his earliest films in France after studying at the Académie du Cinéma in Paris. He came from a wealthy family with a solid Catholic background, but as a student in the 1920s he rejected Catholicism, not simply slipping out of it, but with a vengeance, holding nothing back in his rejection of it along with other traditional social values. In the late 1920s he met Salvador Dali, and the two hit it off well, together cooking up the scenario for a short film, *Un chien andalou* (1929), a surrealist film intended to shock and scandalize audiences, but which, much to their chagrin, quickly became successful and accepted as an art film. Further collaboration with Dali led to an idea for another film that would overcome the art film barrier and should offend even the most open-minded viewers, but with Dali otherwise

engaged, Buñuel completed this one on his own, making *L'âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930) on commission for the enlightened wealthy aristocrat Charles de Noailles, as a birthday gift for his even more liberated wife Marie-Laure, herself an artist and also the granddaughter of the wife of the Marquis de Sade.³ This time he succeeded in causing a scandal after the public screening of the film in Paris; making members of the clergy, police, and the social elite look like fools paled in comparison to the underlying pornography evident in unrestrained sexual obsession (by a woman as well as a man). Even worse, he represents Jesus Christ (while not actually identified we have little choice but to make the association), played by the actor Lionel Salem at the end of the film, as nothing more than a rapist.

Music plays a fascinating role in this film, now on an actual soundtrack unlike the pre-sound *Un chien andalou*, with works by Debussy, Mozart, Wagner, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schubert heard at various points, arranged for a small ensemble put together for the purposes of the film. One may be inclined to think of this music, all well-known works from the standard repertoire, as having an ironic function in relation to the film, giving us conventional classical sounds while the eye encounters one surrealist absurdity after another.⁴ Some of that does occur, but that notion not only far oversimplifies the use of the music but also underestimates Buñuel's own musical sophistication. Among the various musical works used, two composers, Wagner and Schubert, stand out. From his brother Alfonso we know about Buñuel's musical background and love for Wagner: "Extremely fond of music, he played the piano and violin from childhood. . . . His favorite composer was Richard Wagner, whom he greatly venerated, especially *Tristan und Isolde*."⁵ In fact, his sister Conchita later explained how as a thirteen-year-old Buñuel would come into his siblings' room before they went to bed and with violin ready would weave a narrative, "a very Wagnerian tale." This gift, "which enriched the adventures of [Conchita's] childish imagination," became something he could later apply to filmmaking, capturing a musical essence in visual images, and he certainly used Wagner in that way in *L'âge d'or*.

As a director with a passion for music as strong as filmmaking, Buñuel understood the powerful role that music could have in a film, that visual images could become much more potent when prompted by an association with music. He also knew as a musician that some

music that belonged to the standard repertoire, performed in concert halls and opera houses frequented by the pillars of society, could at the same time be subversive, although much of the audience would not notice or care. The most popular of all operas, Bizet's *Carmen*, falls into that subversive category, and as a Spaniard living in France he surely knew that opera well: in it *Carmen* reduces Don José to little more than her sex toy, shattering his morals and sense of social decorum through the musical sexuality that Bizet gives her. The music of Wagner can do something similar, although in a different way as its sexual energy becomes fused with higher spiritual notions, but it remains sexually charged nevertheless. In this film Buñuel can keep returning to *Tristan und Isolde*, the opening of the Prelude for the fulfillment of desire between the young man and woman (Gaston Modot and Lya Lys) as their leitmotif, and then go even further with the "Liebestod" ("Love-Death") from the end of the opera, taking their sexual electricity to a level it would not otherwise have, although still with some irony since we have seen no reason for their sexual attraction to be elevated in this way.⁶

While Wagner provides glue throughout the film, Schubert offers something else, in many respects no less important. Despite the respectability associated with the "Unfinished" Symphony, Buñuel may have been able to recognize an element of subversion as well, since his use of it goes well beyond mere irony. Unlike the other music heard in this film, he gives us virtually the entire first movement of the "Unfinished," even providing the repeated exposition, although cutting it off just before the beginning of the coda. We hear the symphony right at the center of the film, for the sequence at the Roman estate of the Marquis of X, the symphony starting as the first car of guests arrives for a ball and musical performance presented by the Marquis. As this car pulls through the gate of the estate, the driver blows the horn a number of times, and these toots become added notes to the first eight bars of the symphony, merging *musique concrète* and actual music, curiously making the symphony, although strictly nondiegetic, part of the action. Just before this we have seen Lys with her mother discussing the orchestra her father will conduct; she visits her bedchamber, which a cow occupies, and we see her excitement, with wind in her hair, as she anticipates the arrival of Modot. He remains under guard by two officers in the street, but a document declaring that he is on a

high mission of good will (and he mocks the words of the government minister by chanting them) leaves his guards dumbfounded. Before getting into a taxi, he kicks over a blind man in the street, leaving the guards in disarray.

For the most part Buñuel has choreographed the entire estate sequence with Schubert's symphony, using the transitional points in the music to parallel changes in shots or scenes, or sometimes specific chords as coordinates for action. The introductory eight bars take the car through the gate, while the next section of the exposition brings the car with guests to the front entrance. For the second group of the exposition, now in the new key (flat VI), the camera moves inside, to the host and hostess, he with shaving cuts patched with tissue. Before this section of the music ends, Schubert launches into some fairly violently disruptive chords, and these accompany a rustic horse cart with peasants ambling through the ballroom, the peasants swinging their bottles as they get drunk.

The transitional bars that can lead either back to the beginning or on to the development take us back for the repeat of the exposition, and this also shifts the camera back to the entrance of the building, to the doormen and a man with a rifle who greets and embraces a plump boy. With the musical transition to the second section of the exposition we return inside, first to a servant rubbing a bottle more or less in time with the music. As we proceed into the new key area, we see that a fire has broken out in the kitchen, and a female servant runs from the fire and faints. No one seems very interested, and the guests sip their drinks as the fire rages. The exposition ends, taking us back to the boy and man with a rifle outside, and temporarily the music ceases. The boy has done something to annoy the man, and in a fit of anger, he shoots the boy, and then fires another shot for good measure.

People inside have heard the shots, and as they come out on the balcony to look, the development begins. For a while they look on with concern, but eventually they shrug and return inside for drinks and hors-d'œuvres. A highly excited section near the end of the development, with short, rapidly rising passages and loud chords, accompanies the moment that Lys and Modot first see each other. With the end of this section and the transition to the recapitulation, other guests temporarily divert Modot, breaking his eye contact with Lys.

At the beginning of the recap Modot sits in conversation with Lys's mother, while Lys still sits alone. With the arrival of the second section, now in the relative major key of this B minor symphony, we see sherry glasses being poured, and Mother gets a glass to bring to Modot. When the theme stops for a bar of rest, just before the loud chords, Mother spills the drink on Modot's hand, and the loud chords accompany his angry outburst at this mishap; he snatches the glass from her hand, throws it to the floor, and slaps her on the face, forcing her to fall backward. Her husband and others observe his unforgivable rudeness and come to her aid, Father lashing out at Modot with the next set of loud chords. When those chords end, Schubert takes us back to the familiar theme, and here the camera moves in on Lys, now looking lovingly at Modot, while other men push him out of the ballroom. The push occurs on the transition to the coda, and with Modot lurking behind a curtain, the music proceeds, but not the Schubert coda; it segues into the Prelude from *Tristan und Isolde*. We hear no more Schubert, and now Wagner takes over, eventually with Lys's father conducting the "Liebestod" to a blank-faced audience, as Lys and Modot try to get down to serious love-making further back in the garden in front of a statue of Venus. When a servant summons Modot to the phone, the famous scene occurs with Lys, still very much in the mood, sucking passionately on the toe of the statue of Venus.

Numerous subversions and worse have occurred in this scene, and with all of this choreographed to the "Unfinished," the music appears to participate in the antics, making Schubert more an accomplice than a foil. The love-making remains unfinished, and so does the music, not in the usual way but instead through the *coda interruptus* after a full ten minutes—one-sixth of the entire film—of Schubert.

Possibly no work from the standard repertoire has been used as often in films as Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony, and generally not simply because of the work's warhorse status. It continued to pop up in the 1930s, for example in Edgar Ulmer's *The Black Cat*, starring Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff, with the symphony played at a high volume and in synchronization with the action. This symphony also turns up in the most famous of all Hollywood films from the 1930s, David O. Selznick's *Gone with the Wind* (1939), and continues to be used in the present day, for example in Steven Spielberg's *Minority Report* (2002), although in this case one has less of an idea why Spielberg

uses it. We hear it in a muzaked version, and one suspects that Spielberg, an admirer of Stanley Kubrick, may have picked up the idea from *A Clockwork Orange*, in which Beethoven's Ninth Symphony occasionally gets that kind of presentation.

DOUBLE INDEMNITY

One of the more interesting uses of the "Unfinished" came in 1944, in the film noir classic *Double Indemnity*, directed by Schubert's fellow Viennese native son, Billy Wilder. In this case the film composer, Hungarian born Miklós Rózsa, played an important role as well, and with these two central Europeans collaborating on their American film, one should perhaps not be too surprised that Schubert's music would turn up, and that they would have special ideas about how it should be used. In his autobiography, Rózsa recalled a discussion he had with Wilder about setting this music in the film: "When Billy and I discussed the music, he had the idea of using a restless string figure (as in the opening of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony) to reflect the conspiratorial activities of the two lovers against the husband; it was a good idea and I happily accepted it as a basis to work on."⁷ No doubt the discussion went much further than this, since the importance of the music certainly did.

For Wilder and Rózsa, having decided on this Schubert symphony to underlie the main dramatic tension, the musical variety provided possibilities for a way to hear the drama of the entire film, transferring the plot and visuals into something with the audible substance of Schubert's dramatic music. The narrative unfolds from the perspective of Neff (played by Fred MacMurray), as he dictates a message on his office dictaphone late at night, wounded from a gunshot, to Keyes (Edward G. Robinson), who has seen through the murder plot except for identifying the man who does the deed. On a routine insurance call, Neff meets the wife of a client, Phyllis (Barbara Stanwyck), and she lures him into a plot to murder her husband after buying accident insurance for him without his knowledge, with a premium that will pay double if he dies on a train. The action unfolds as a series of flashbacks prompted by Neff's dictation, with music that never becomes overwhelming supporting the drama.

Some of Rózsa's music bears a noticeable resemblance to Schubert's symphony, and this starts with the beginning of Neff's narration for Keyes: "It all began last May. . . ." The music we hear at this point and frequently throughout Royal S. Brown aptly calls the "narrative theme,"⁸ and it has the restless figure referred to by Rózsa in discussion with Wilder, which is certainly more than suggestive of the restless section of the symphony starting at bar 9. At various points, often coming out of the narrative theme, we hear another theme that has similarities to the opening of the symphony, not identical to it but using the same pattern as the first four notes although with a different rhythm, often played by a bass clarinet, which gives it a bit of an edge because of the instrumentation. We hear this, for example, when Neff returns to his dark apartment after meeting with Phyllis and grasping the drift of her plot. He would like to forget her but cannot, realizes he will be drawn into her web, and that death, certainly her husband's but possibly his own, hangs in the air. If Schubert's opening sounds dirge-like, Rózsa's variant of it here has a similar chilling effect; needless to say, as he speculates on things to come in the shadows of his dark apartment, Phyllis arrives at the door and confirms his worst suspicions. We hear it again, with bass clarinet, when Phyllis reminds him they're on a trolley ride together, a trolley that does not stop until the cemetery.

Rózsa has also provided a theme for Phyllis, a seductive melody that contrasts the other music, and while not in any way identical, it seems possibly inspired by Schubert's melody in the new key of G major. Stinger chords at various points in the film, like Schubert's dissonant chords, have a disturbing effect, sometimes as evil harbingers but also at the most tense moments of the action. When Neff drives home after getting Phyllis's husband's signature under false pretenses on an accident policy, stingers coincide with his reflection on the signature, in effect the husband's signing of his own death warrant. Prior to and during the murder itself, stinger chords also do the job, paralleling three blasts of the horn as the signal to do the deed, and then letting the murder happen in music so it does not actually have to be shown.

Phyllis's stepdaughter Lola begins to suspect her, remembering Phyllis's treatment, then as a nurse, of her mother before her death; now she sees Phyllis trying on widow's weeds before her father's

death. In an attempt to stop Lola from talking, Neff spends time with her, taking her to dinner or to the beach. Seeing Phyllis again and reminded by her of the trolley ride that ends at the cemetery, Neff talks into the dictaphone, thinking about Phyllis as being dead, and the music that we now hear, instead of a theme similar to the opening of Schubert's symphony, actually is the opening to the symphony; it does not sound out of place because we have been prepared for it. In fact, it may take a second or two to realize that we now hear Schubert instead of Rózsa sounding like Schubert. The flashback that dissolves in shows Neff and Lola on one of their outings, walking in the woods, a location we quickly discover lies above the Hollywood Bowl, with music emanating from an orchestra on the stage of the Bowl. Of course we could not possibly hear the music that clearly from such a height, but for the first time in the film, the music sounds not only for the benefit of the audience but for the characters as well, as the Schubert-like drama they have been acting out now engulfs them in the diegesis, giving the "Unfinished" a role in the film that prior to this has only been tacit.

Neff may think he has a way of getting off the hook by pinning the blame on Lola's ex-boyfriend, but things now spin out of control as he confronts Phyllis, intending to kill her. She has the same plan for him, and some of the music for this scene includes a cello playing Rózsa's dirge-like theme, now with Schubert's instrumentation instead of the previous bass clarinet. Death will not release either Phyllis or Neff from its grip, and the projection of Schubert's narrative as a death narrative gets the last word. Wilder, who landed in the United States in the 1930s not speaking a word of English, understood how the music of his compatriot could stir his American audience. Like many other first-rate directors he understood that cinema often unfolds best from a musical model, that visual images can be a transference of sound images, and that a composer such as Schubert could allow this to happen.

LIFEBOAT

In the same year as *Double Indemnity* a film by another leading director, Alfred Hitchcock's *Lifeboat*, used music by Schubert in an



Playing “Heidenröslein” in *Lifeboat*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock, 1944.
Photo credit: Photofest, New York.

unusual and certainly unexpected way. All the action in this film takes place in a lifeboat in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean after an American merchant marine ship has been torpedoed by a German U-boat, which also goes down. The few American and British survivors aboard have their own wartime conflict when they pick up a German survivor, who seems in every respect more intelligent, informed, and stronger than all of them put together. We occasionally hear music, played on a tin flute by Joe (Canada Lee), the lone African American on board, or sung by the German, Willie (Walter Slezak), accompanied usually on Joe's flute by Rittenhaus (Henry Hull), a wealthy industrialist. Sometimes while rowing, Willie—the only one strong enough to do so (he has a supply of water and energy tablets he does not share)—also sings, and on one occasion he chooses Schubert's “Heidenröslein” (“Wild Rose”) with Rittenhaus (whose name of course is German) accompanying him on the tin flute. Before starting, Rittenhaus says “I know that one all right.” We may speculate that this choice of music is

entirely serendipitous, but considering some of the other music used, that seems an unlikely option.

Hitchcock initially engaged John Steinbeck to write the script for the film, and Steinbeck opted to start with a scenario, amounting to a short novel; in this scenario Joe plays the flute, but with no indication of the choice of music. Hitchcock and Steinbeck soon ran into disagreements about the plot, and Hitchcock, in his usual fashion, dropped Steinbeck with as little ado as possible, hiring a new script writer, this time Jo Swerling. Swerling identifies some of the music Joe plays in the screenplay, for example "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree" or "Ach du lieber Augustine," but in the final revised script of 29 July 1943, Willie does not sing and Joe does little but play randomly on the tin flute.⁹ Hitchcock himself appears to have seen potential for the music to underlie the conflict, setting, for example, a German song against an American song. As Gus (William Bendix) drinks brandy to prepare for the amputation that Willie (who it turns out is a surgeon in civilian life) will perform on him, he asks Joe for some music, and Joe obliges with the German drinking song "Du, du, liegst mir im Herzen" ("You, You are Dear to Me"), in contrast to Swerling's script, which calls for some fragment of a classic. Gus (who has changed his own name from Schmidt to Smith) disapproves, wanting none of that, and tells Joe to "boogie it up," which Joe does with something jazzy that quickly turns into "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree."

The direct juxtaposition of German and American music here may work at a more sophisticated level with other musical treatments as well. After Willie has been rescued, over the objections of at least two of the Americans who would prefer to throw him back into the ocean, we quickly learn of his apparent superiority to the others. He claims to have been an ordinary sea hand but in fact has been a captain, and as a surgeon he can save Gus's life by removing his gangrenous leg. At first he speaks only German, which Connie (Tallulah Bankhead) translates for the others, but later he speaks perfect English and French as well: late in the film Connie refers to him as an ersatz superman, but prior to that he appears to be the real thing. Early in the film, after a conflict about which direction to sail, with Willie confidently stating which direction it should be, Joe plays the flute while the others argue, and to most viewers his playing appears to be no more than the aimless tootling scripted by Swerling. A closer listening reveals it to be Walther's song from Act 3, Scene

5, of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* (*The Master Singer*), a chilling choice of music in this context. In this song Walther demonstrates his superiority over the bad imitation (and stolen rendition) by Beckmesser. By 1943 or 1944 audiences probably knew about Hitler's fanaticism about Wagner, if not from news reports then from Chaplin's musical treatment in *The Great Dictator* (1941). Here there is no coincidence about the choice of music, and Hitchcock, himself an avid fan of Wagner's music, may very well have had something to do with the choice.

Before the Americans and British finally see through Willie's deceptions, finding his hidden compass and water supply, they alternate in their views about him. On the one hand they see him as a Nazi who boasts about his racial superiority and takes over the command of their boat, while on the other hand they can observe his highly desirable qualities as an urbane man with education and culture and even a capacity to save a life. In *The Great Dictator* Chaplin plays both the dictator and the Jewish barber, and the latter has as much claim to the great cultural heritage as the former. While Chaplin plays out this tension with Wagner alone, Hitchcock does it with Wagner and Schubert, using Wagner to represent aggressiveness and presumed superiority, and Schubert for the great cultural heritage, a song with a text by Goethe to make that even stronger, but also a song with a simplicity and almost child-like innocence (Schubert treats the subject more innocently than Goethe, avoiding the implicit sexual suggestions of the text). A Nazi officer singing "Heidenröslein" could be a decent human being, and accompanied by an American industrialist who readily knows the song implies that German culture has left a positive mark on the rest of the world, perhaps even offering a bridge for an ultimate uniting of nations. Hitchcock himself had positive feelings about Germany, having made films there in the mid 1920s and learning from the great expressionist directors such as Murnau; in the bad-Nazi/good-German scenario, Hitchcock may have been thinking wistfully about a return to international civility.

BARRY LYNDON

Few directors have had as alert an ear for music as Hitchcock, a sense that music can impel a film from within, shaping visual images and

even cinematic form. For Hitchcock, not in any way a musician himself, that approach came from the fact that he made his first ten films in the silent era, in which dialogue of course does not exist. Other directors with one foot in the silents similarly elevated music in their films, allowing it to carry emotions as dialogue could not, but directors did not have to live with silent film to be able to achieve this. Of the next generation of directors few succeeded as brilliantly as Stanley Kubrick in this respect, and he happily recognized his debt to silent films, replying to an interviewer that “I think that silent films got a lot more things right than talkies.”¹⁰ The film under discussion with the interviewer was *Barry Lyndon* (1975), specifically the scene in which Barry meets his future wife Lady Lyndon, and the music prompting the discussion was the Andante movement of Schubert’s Piano Trio in E flat (D929). In fact, Kubrick uses other Schubert pieces in this film, aside from works by Handel, Vivaldi, Mozart, Paisiello, Bach, and others, with a cheerful German dance and the opening of the Impromptu No. 1 in C minor (D899) as the intermission segue.

The music of the classics plays a central role in Kubrick’s films, not only in *Barry Lyndon*, but also *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) and *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), and in fact with *2001* he generated a great controversy when he rejected Alex North’s composed score in favor of the borrowed works by Johann Strauss, György Ligeti, and Richard Strauss.¹¹ Kubrick wanted music of a caliber that would match his own filmmaking: “However good our best film composers may be, they are not a Beethoven, a Mozart and a Brahms. Why use music which is less good when there is such a multitude of great orchestral music available from the past and from our own time?”¹² This is not some abstract notion about great music having an elevating effect on a film; in each case his chosen music plays like a character in the film, not only producing the right emotional effect but often drawing a much deeper underlying significance. Without Richard Strauss’s *Also sprach Zarathustra*, the film *2001* simply would not work, and in some respects one can say the same about the Schubert Trio in *Barry Lyndon*. This Schubert Trio not only carries the emotion of the love scene in question but it also has structural and tone implications for the entire film.

The scene in which Barry meets Lady Lyndon, both of them gambling at a palace in Belgium in the late eighteenth century, happens exactly at the mid-point of this unusually long 184-minute film.

Throughout the seven-minute scene backed up by the Schubert Trio, no more than two lines of dialogue are spoken, although the music coincides with about a minute and a half of narration that introduces us to her and clarifies that at this point in his wandering and disconnected life Barry aspires to nothing in marriage other than finding an elevated position in society. This narration occurs while we see the palace gardens, Barry sitting idly and the beautiful Lady Lyndon strolling with her invalid husband, their son, and the rest of their entourage. When the camera moves to the gaming table in the casino at night, Barry and Lady Lyndon on opposite sides, the narrative stops but the Trio does not. In the candlelight her fragile and porcelain beauty radiates toward Barry while the intensity of his look, shrouded in the sepia light, seems to enflame her appearance. Aside from Schubert, we hear only the murmurs and occasional cheers of other gamblers and the subdued French of the croupier, until she says to the Reverend Runt beside her that she needs to step out for air. Outside her looks become even more porcelain as a blue/gray lighting predominates. Barry follows her out, and the slow pace of their movements matches the music precisely. Barry stands beside her looking intently at her; as she slowly turns to return the look, he takes her hands, and their faces eventually converge to kiss. When their lips meet we reach bar 41 in the music, the arrival of E flat major after the preceding C minor.¹³ With music in the major key, the scene changes to the out-of-doors during daylight, the two of them in love, punting on the river or walking in the gardens.

With the return to a candle-lit gaming table, the music ends, and now a confrontation between her husband Sir Charles and Barry flares up; Sir Charles knows exactly what Barry wants—to fill his shoes as soon as possible. That happens quickly and conveniently, as Sir Charles dies at the table from an apoplectic coughing fit just after Barry leaves the fray. Kubrick himself describes the casino scene in the following way, immediately following his comment about silent films:

Barry and Lady Lyndon sit at the gaming table and exchange lingering looks. They do not say a word. Lady Lyndon goes out on the balcony for some air. Barry follows her outside. They gaze longingly into each other's eyes and kiss. Still not a word is spoken. It's

very romantic, but at the same time, I think it suggests the empty attraction they have for each other that is to disappear as quickly as it arose. It sets the stage for everything that is to follow in their relationship. The actors, the images and the Schubert worked well together, I think.¹⁴

Exceptionally well, although he may throw us off the track a little here, saying nothing about how the material of the Trio has been altered by Leonard Rosemann, who arranged all the music for the film. The interviewer wished to know if Kubrick had this music “in mind while preparing and shooting this particular scene,” and received this reply:

No, I decided on it while we were editing. Initially, I thought it was right to use only eighteenth-century music. But sometimes you can make ground-rules for yourself which prove unnecessary and counter-productive. I think I must have listened to every LP you can buy of eighteenth-century music. One of the problems which soon became apparent is that there are no tragic love-themes in eighteenth-century music. So eventually I decided to use Schubert's Trio in E Flat, Opus 100, written in 1828. It's a magnificent piece of music and it has just the right restrained balance between the tragic and the romantic without getting into the headier stuff of later Romanticism.¹⁵

Few would quibble with his anachronism, since even scholars intrepidly include Schubert as belonging to the so-called longer eighteenth century. The comment that no such music existed in the eighteenth century may be harder to stomach.

Kubrick seems primarily interested here in describing a type of atmospheric quality the music possesses that corresponds with the scene and the characters, and in that respect it works admirably. In the languid tone of the opening theme, Kubrick senses both romance and tragedy, although both of these are tempered by the relative emptiness of the principal characters. Lady Lyndon, played by the model-turned-actor Marisa Berenson, presents us throughout the second half of the film with a distinctive visual impression instead of a flesh-and-blood character, and Barry's life and aspirations have done little to endear him to us. In fact, the Schubert Trio gives both of them

more substance than they deserve, making us feel deeper emotions than either character seems capable of engendering.

Kubrick, though, fails to tell us about his (and Rosemann's) alteration of the music. The entire Trio runs 212 bars, but we hear only about a third of it, with repeats that do not exist in Schubert's score and with cuts that change it entirely. As the discussion of this movement in chapter 6 indicated, Schubert follows the nostalgic material of the opening section with musical breakdown bordering on violence, starting at bar 67, and then coming in waves at least two more times, forcing us to hear the return of the opening theme at the end in an entirely different way. In this scene in the film, the Trio runs until bar 66, and instead of venturing into the disruptive passage that follows, swings back to the beginning, this time going only twenty-one bars before it returns again to the beginning. Now it runs for fifty-six bars, well into the E flat material, jumps ahead skipping the first disruptive episode, and then continues with the somewhat altered opening theme.

Anyone who knows the Schubert Trio will wonder what has happened to the missing violent episodes. One explanation could be that this material simply did not suit Kubrick's purposes since he wished at this point to generate a certain type of tone. Considering that the Trio comes back again at the end of the film, in fact the last music we hear before the end credits, one suspects Kubrick had something else in mind here, suppressing the violent passages for a larger structural reason. At the conclusion of the film he gives us the end of the movement of the Trio, and it is as though what happens between the budding love scene and the desolate ending fills in the missing music; we do not hear it because Kubrick provides the disintegration and violence cinematically, in a sense making the film part of the Trio, playing out the demise as a work of music. In the second half of the film we see moments of tenderness between Barry and his wife, taking us back to the opening of the Schubert, but we see much more of the opposite. These include Barry with whores or kissing a maid in view of his wife and her already-alienated son (Lord Bullingdon), having violent confrontations with him, squandering the family fortune as he tries to elevate himself socially, living through the death of his own son, dueling with Lord Bullingdon, and finally being expelled from

England—with one leg amputated as a result of the duel and with an annuity conditional on his never returning to England.

On more than one occasion the narrator calls Barry a wanderer, in fact, just before we first hear the Trio, as pursuing a “wandering, disconnected life,” not unlike Schubert’s wandering so aptly described by Elfriede Jelinek. We can admire the passion of the young Barry who duels over the affection for his promiscuous cousin at the beginning of the film, or even the military bravery he occasionally displays. But, we have little else to admire: he deserts the army, cheats at gambling, will do anything to live the life of a gentleman, and does one despicable thing after another as a married man. He starts as someone who could even have become a hero, but he cannot seem to help himself as weak morals and base instincts guide him to his demise. We cannot imagine why he should make such a complete mess of everything, and this incomprehensibility seems to come straight out of Schubert’s music. Kubrick may have had an instinct about Schubert similar to Jelinek’s. The return of the Trio at the end of the film is telling, appearing when the hobbled Barry returns to his native Ireland and to an unsuccessful life as a gambler. Again the Trio starts from the beginning, but this time we hear nothing of the E flat major section as it jumps to near the end of the movement, and then proceeds to the end. In the closing *un poco più lento* section Schubert gives a brief reminder of the earlier disruptions, and that reminder is enough for those who know the Trio. Here it comes as a fresh wound to Barry, his life forever altered for the worse. Schubert lets us know that nothing can ever be as it was after we traverse the decline that we may in all likelihood generate for ourselves, and Barry, now the untitled Redmond Barry again—debased, maimed, and relatively impoverished—stands as living filmic proof of the principle.

CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS

In his Dostoyevskian *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), Woody Allen gives us one of his darkest views on life. Of course it has sparkling humor, provided by the character Allen himself plays, Cliff, especially in the jabs he takes at the fatuous TV producer Lester (Alan Alda). As a favor to his sister, who is still (but barely) married to Cliff, Lester hires

Cliff to make a film biography of himself, and Cliff does so by portraying Lester as Mussolini. By the end Cliff has nothing left to make him smile: his marriage ends, the woman he falls for (Mia Farrow) to his astonishment has become engaged to Lester, and his documentary film about an optimistic Holocaust survivor and philosophy professor collapses when the subject commits suicide. He's in no mood for jokes in the final scene at a Jewish wedding, sitting alone and dejected on a piano bench removed from the jubilant wedding party.

Cliff remains a sideline in this film, like the neurotic Mickey in *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986) of a few years earlier, with the main focus falling on Judah Rosenthal (Martin Landau), a highly successful and respected ophthalmologist whose life has started to unravel because of some indiscretions that include not only an affair with an airline attendant but some financial follies bordering on embezzlement. He tries to end the affair, but his mistress will not let go, and in fact insists on having it out with his wife Miriam (Claire Bloom), and even threatens to expose his shady financial dealings if Judah does not comply. While being honored for his philanthropy, Judah's world seems at the edge of total collapse; he cannot imagine Miriam understanding or forgiving him, nor the social elite of his orbit doing the same. Something has to be done, and he gets two pieces of advice, one from a Rabbi patient of his, who tells him he must take his chances by owning up to his misdeeds, and the other from his brother, who has Mafia connections and lets him know that the "problem" could be eliminated for a fee.

In the tribute to Judah at the beginning of the film, the emcee lists some of his sophisticated qualities, including his taste in classical music. We soon discover that he has a special love for Schubert; as we see Judah and his mistress Dolores (Angelica Huston) in a flashback walking on a beach, she wishes to go back to the cottage where he can play the Schumann for her. He quickly corrects her: "*Schubert*. Schumann is flowery. Schubert is . . . he reminds me of you . . . the sad one." She admits her ignorance about classical music, but gets it right on his birthday, meeting him at a service station down the road from his house (intending to come to the house if he does not come to her), giving him a CD of Schubert as a gift. As she pushes him with threats about confronting his wife and exposing his finances, he reflects on his good angel and bad one, and opts for the bad, calling his brother Jack (Jerry Orbach) with the green light to have her murdered.

We see Judah walking alone in a poorly lit street, now with the background music of the first movement of Schubert's String Quartet in G (D887). With the music continuing, the scene shifts to Dolores walking to her apartment, followed by someone who then knocks on her door and gains entry. We do not see the murder occur, but the quartet tells us all we need to know with its unusual opening material of loud chords punctuating jagged rhythmic lines, extended menacing tremolos accompanying an awkward melody first in the violin and then in the cello, which leads directly to a *fortissimo* outburst. When Judah hears that the deed has been done, he goes to the apartment to retrieve incriminating personal effects, and while there the same quartet plays, starting again from the beginning, going farther than it had the first time. Judah cannot help but look at the dead Dolores, her open eyes literally glowing, reinforcing his own father's words to him as a child that God sees all.

To most commentators on this film the choice of Schubert represents no more than backing for class distinction, with jazz for common folk and classical music for the elite, or as music with the right sort of tone for a murder.¹⁶ Allen himself has had something to say about this, as in his reply to an interview question from Stig Björkman about how he chose the music for the murder scene, specifically the Schubert quartet:

Yes, it's the same as when I chose the music for *Manhattan*. I've loved that piece of music for many years. And long before I wrote the story for *Crimes and Misdemeanors* I thought, "What a wonderful piece of music, gripped with tension and gripped with portent." So when I thought of music for that spot, this Schubert quartet came back to me and it was an instantly correct feeling for me. Then I went back into the script and changed one of the pieces of dialogue to include Schubert in it, so there was a relationship.¹⁷

The exchange ends with Björkman commenting, "The music reaches a very dramatic peak, when Dolores opens the front door to get into her house," to which Allen replies, "Right, the strings are riddled with anxiety. That's a beautiful piece of music!"

Allen says very little, but enough to make us suspect that much more is going on here, prompted by this music he had known for years. Here we have the central event of the film, in fact dead on at

the actual center, the climax of a moral collapse that has built up to it, setting the stage for how Judah will live with his crime. It provides a marker that divides the film into three parts: the first part gives us Judah's earlier life, an honored man enjoying the accolades but using his standing in the world for financial and personal benefit; part two goes to the remedy for dealing with his mistakes, the exploration of his most base instincts, which he recognizes as a march into a black void; the third part shows him returning to his old esteemed life and family pleasures, but can it ever be the same? The theme of whether or not one can ever return to things as they were runs as an *idée fixe* throughout the film: the Rabbi (Sam Waterston) tells him that he and his wife can never go back; flashbacks of youth with his father, family, and synagogue remind him of guilt and punishment; even Dolores reminds him that things can never be as they were; and the issue comes to a head at the end in a probing discussion between Judah and Cliff at the wedding.

The three-part pattern here of course reminds us of a familiar one from Schubert's works, although perhaps not specifically in this quartet. The Quartet in G belongs to a family of late instrumental works discussed in chapter 6 that have movements with this format of a middle section (or sections) with destructive elements and attempts to return that can never be successful—among them the Piano Trio in E flat (D929), the Piano Sonata in A (D959), and the Quintet in C (D956). In some of these works the material of that movement spills over into other movements, as the second movement of the Trio does in the finale, and in the Quartet in G that happens as well, as the ominous tremolo of the first movement carries forward to the episodes of disintegration in the second movement—the movement with the clearest sense of the format in question. The use of Schubert at the center of the film may then have implications far beyond the suitability of its tone for a murder, becoming, as music Allen knew intimately, a structural microcosm for the entire film, giving a musical essence to the script and cinematography. As with many of the finest directors, Allen uses music in a much more sophisticated way than most viewers imagine, making it an equal partner with the other elements of filmmaking.

The conversation between Judah and Cliff at the end of the film places the A-B-A form in context most strikingly. Both have drifted

away from the wedding festivities and by chance meet at a quiet spot, sitting together on a piano bench, as though reinforcing the musical element. In his dejected mood, just having discovered the engagement of the woman he loved to Lester, after thinking she scorned him as much as he did, Cliff says he is planning the perfect murder, which Judah takes to be a film plot although Cliff may have been thinking about Lester. Judah one-ups him by stating he has the perfect murder plot, although with a strange twist, and he tells his own story in the third person. At first he sounds like Raskolnikov from *Crime and Punishment*, acknowledging the guilt after the deed, the violation of the universe, and rejection arising from his family and religious background. But, unlike the novel, his guilt does not induce him to confess; instead, the sun has shone again, his family surrounds him, and he has gone back to the world of wealth and privilege. A drifter has been tagged with the murder, and Judah entirely escapes suspicion. Yet he questions if he can ever really go back, since he has bad moments, but they fade. In his own misery Cliff doubts that anyone could live with the consequences, and that he would turn himself in. Judah calls that fiction, and goes off with Miriam, who has finally found him, anticipating the wedding of their own daughter. Cliff sits dejected, no doubt reflecting on the form his own life has taken, from the documentary maker with a conscience, a sense of humor, and a wife, to the empty shell he has become, with no sarcasm left, but at least still moral values. He may prefer jazz, but the Schubert quartet applies to him almost as much as to Judah. Schubert's themes will not come back at the end as they once stood, but they will come back in an altered form; Judah will live with or ignore his guilt, and Cliff will probably muddle along, perhaps with less bite to his wit or idealism in his films, but neither he nor Judah will end up like the philosopher Cliff hoped to reveal in a documentary.

TROP BELLE POUR TOI

"Your Schubert's a pain in the ass! A goddamn pain!" In Bertrand Blier's *Trop belle pour toi* (*Too Beautiful for You*, 1989), Bernard (Gerard Depardieu) snarls these words at the camera before the final fade-out. In the end credits that immediately follow, the first one to come up

states “Musique: Franz Schubert,” as though Blier hired Schubert as his film composer. In a way he did: no less than fourteen works by Schubert can be heard in this film,¹⁸ providing ninety-nine percent of the music we actually hear, the one exception being the theme from *Love Story* hummed briefly by one of the leading characters. With all this Schubert, sometimes for only the audience to hear, other times played on CDs, and once in an actual performance, along with Bernard’s final words, we clearly have no usual treatment of music. In fact, when we hear the music diegetically, we are not always certain that characters do not hear it, and conversely, when someone puts on a CD, at least one character may not actually hear it.¹⁹ Pegging this film by the usual genres proves not to be easy either: comedy seems apt, and at times it’s outrageously funny, but something lurks beneath the surface throughout that seems in deadly earnest. Adding the music to the mix does not make the categorization any easier.

On the surface the premise looks the same as a million other movies: Bernard, a BMW dealer happily married to a beautiful woman, Florence (Carole Bouquet), with two children and a large house,



Marital problems in *Trop belle pour toi*, directed by Bertrand Blier, 1989. Photo credit: Photofest, New York.

arrives at work one day to find a temp secretary, Colette (Josiane Balasko), replacing the usual one, and he falls madly in love with her. We follow them making their professions of love and making love, the breakdown with his wife and friends, a showdown between his wife and mistress, and finally we watch the question of which way he will go; with that, the parallels with other films end. Bernard leaves his stunningly beautiful and sophisticated wife (thus the title) for his dumpy secretary whose appearance seldom attracts men, although she radiates an inner warmth through her zaftig body that certainly attracts Bernard. Schubert's Impromptu in G flat becomes their music, and when we first hear it nondiegetically, we suspect that they actually hear it, since the music tells us everything we need to know about their relationship. When Bernard actually hears it on a CD or performed live, he reacts strongly, as though he knows it's their music. With a simple and engaging melody, but also inner voice complexity and tonal wandering, it could not be more perfect as their music.

We hear another Schubert work before the Impromptu, one that few will recognize, first during a flash forward at the beginning of the film to a motel room with Bernard and Colette together, then a parking lot scene, and again as Colette, sitting at her typewriter, hopes he will turn and look at her: the overture to the opera *Fierrabras*. Like portions of the Quartet in G just discussed, this overture starts with tremolo in the strings, at first quietly, a *crescendo* to *ff*, and then becomes quiet again. This effect, with a simple chord progression, has an unbalancing and disturbing impact, and it signals trouble for both Bernard and Colette. Bernard looks at her, and she, in another room with a clear glass partition, phones him, unable to say what she would like, which is that she would like to be with him in bed. When she hangs up he calls back to get more from her, and she says that his eyes moved her, that they hurt and destabilize her but also please her. He quickly falls, with the Impromptu in G flat convincing us this will not be a passing fancy. The scene cuts to his dinner table at home, with the Impromptu still heard, now coming from the CD player. His wife asks if he likes this music, and he asks, "What music?" The whole family looks at him dumbfounded, asking "Don't you hear it?" "Where?" he asks. "In the house." "There's music in the house?" He walks to the CD player and turns it off, asking, "What's this music?" His son answers Schubert's Impromptu, and that he bought the CD, his wife

filling in that the boy had to write an essay on Schubert for his music class. Bernard cannot believe that anyone would write an essay about this: "But this music shatters me."

Now he knows it is the music of his illicit love, and a little later we find him at the CD player with headphones listening to it, enraptured, while his wife, knowing that something is up, watches. She comes to the office unannounced, meets Colette, and leaves feeling relieved, doubting he could fall for this tacky-looking nobody. Still, she questions him later, knowing he's having an affair; when he describes his mistress as plain, she doubts it since if that were true he would not be having sex with her. Various Schubert works accompany Bernard and Colette in bed aside from the Impromptu, including the Entr'acte No. 2 from *Rosamunde* and the Arpeggione Sonata. An ecstatic Colette tells a total stranger (male) that she has just made love for three hours and still has nervous cramps, to the sound of Schubert's "Ständchen" (Serenade) for contralto and male chorus.

Back at the family dinner table a CD of the second movement of the String Quartet in D minor ("Death and the Maiden") plays, and an annoyed Bernard complains that that's all they need at meals—so appetizing. His son, still writing his essay, points out it is not supposed to be cheery. Bernard wonders why Schubert wrote such sad music, and his now musically literate son says that "he was sick and unhappy," to which Bernard snaps, "You can feel it. He got that across! Great atmosphere." He hopes his son will soon finish his essay; otherwise he will have to talk to the music teacher. On another occasion at a dinner party in their home, Bernard attacks the long-haired pianist who plays the Impromptu in G flat, and his son rushes to the pianist's defense, declaring he wants to be a musician. The idea horrifies Bernard: "Music hurts. It breaks your heart." Lest we should take him too seriously, a friend at the table, deciding that the time for pretense has passed, confesses to the sumptuous Florence that for fourteen years he has wanted to "eat her pussy." The tremolo from *Fierrabras* returns, the friend's wife walks over and slaps Bernard (not her own husband), and the gathering disintegrates.

Why all this Schubert, we may well ask, not only egging the film on with its sound but encroaching diegetically as well, both with performance and discussion? Schubert appears not only to be the composer of the film's music, but also virtually one of the characters.

Of course we will laugh at the absurdities, including the music, and at Bernard howling his disapproval at hearing Schubert yet again, but we do not only laugh. Choosing sides between wife and mistress proves difficult; we have no reason to dislike Florence who has been a loving wife, her only fault apparently being too beautiful. While we feel sympathy for her, we sense something very special about Colette, who shows her great inner warmth at every moment, even when confronted by Florence; Colette asks her to lend out Bernard a little longer, knowing it will end. Colette's own erotic pleasure and what she can offer do not belong in any typical way to the genre of comedy: she describes her deepest desire and the "desire for pleasure, drop by drop, letting veins throb." She wants to be on top of him and make him explode in slow motion, and with these words backed up by the *Rosamunde* Entr'acte, we believe her. She explains to Florence that most men do not find her worth the effort, but Bernard is vulnerable. When men like him feel forty coming on, it destabilizes them.

The second movement of the Piano Sonata in A (D959) makes two appearances, first at a strange meal at Colette's, and again when Bernard visits Colette's husband to persuade him to welcome her home. He asks Bernard if he would like to hear a little Schubert, and puts on the third section of the second movement, with its gentle reminders of the violent middle section, and the low, ominous F sharps at the end. The scene shifts to the motel, with Florence informing Bernard she's leaving for good while he claims the nightmare has ended. As they talk, Colette arrives, and he goes to her, putting his coat on her as protection from the cold. As he does this, Florence makes her escape, and when he runs after her, Colette also flees, leaving Bernard alone, railing about Schubert as "a goddamn pain"; the Impromptu comes back again. As with the *andantino* of the Sonata in A, for all the principal characters nothing can be as it was, and Schubert may be partly to blame. We may laugh at Bernard's final rant, but we will laugh the way Blier has all the way through, as one laughs at oneself or a loved one—with affection and the knowledge of finally getting it. Blier gives us a lesson in film music, telling us how to hear in case we do not know, and he provides the music of Schubert as the ultimate film score.

SONGS PERFORMED

As in Hitchcock's *Lifeboat*, Schubert's "Heidenröslein" has been used elsewhere as a symbol of hope, and nowhere more wonderfully than in Akira Kurosawa's *Rhapsody in August* (1991). Here Kurosawa bridges the generation gap with four children spending a summer with their aging grandmother, a survivor of the Nagasaki bombing on 9 August 1945. The children learn from her about what actually happened on that fateful day, but also listen in amazement to some of her strange tales. They learn values from her that their own parents seem to be lacking, including that she does not blame the Americans, only the war. The oldest boy, Tateo, sets as his project for the summer to repair Grandma's old, badly out-of-tune pump organ, and he occasionally tries it out, playing an ascending scale, sometimes the opening motif of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, but most often the opening phrase of "Heidenröslein." In fact, the film begins immediately after the titles with Tateo playing a scale and then the beginning of the Schubert song, and his female cousin joins in singing the opening line.

Along with the generation issue, the film also explores the sensitive subject of Japanese-American relations, and does so within the family, since Grandma has an older brother she cannot remember who lives in Hawaii married to an American, and has children who show no visible signs of being Japanese. The children's parents travel to Hawaii to visit these wealthy relatives, and hoping for employment there in the family pineapple business, avoid saying anything that might be awkward, including mentioning that their father (Grandma's husband) died in the Nagasaki bombing. They return to Japan and offend Grandma as well as the children with their scheming, and berate Tateo for his telegram to the family in Hawaii in which he revealed more about their family than appears good for their plans. Grandma's nephew, Clark (Richard Gere), comes to Japan to meet Grandma, and the parents dread this visit, convinced that he has been offended and wishes to break ties. Of course the opposite is true: he did not know about his uncle's death, and he wants to meet Grandma and see where his uncle died. As he views the twisted memorial to the victims, Kurosawa adds a higher level of emotion with Vivaldi's *Requiem*, as he also did when the children first visited the memorial. At Grandma's house

she and Clark have a *tête-à-tête* sitting outside in the evening, and all the imagined points of tension dissolve.

At that moment of resolution, Tateo sits at the organ and says to the other children, “Let’s sing”; he has now repaired the organ, and all join in singing the first stanza of “Heidenröslein” in Japanese, giving it a slightly different emphasis than Goethe’s text: “And the boy a rose did see, a rose standing in the field. Blossoming in all innocence, the sight then to him revealed, a never-ending fascination. For the crimson color of the rose standing in the field.” Tateo’s accompaniment now includes harmony as well, and Clark applauds. Everything appears to have come together as the organ (Grandma calls it old, like herself), which now works, and the song champions innocence and fascination, a victory over the calculations of the parents, who accept their humiliation. But Schubert does not end here. At the memorial service on 9 August at a small rural temple, the chanting has a rhythm vaguely similar to the opening of the Schubert song, and the youngest boy spots a flow of ants along a path up a large stem to the most glorious red rose, a sight he enjoys with Clark as he experiences the song’s text. During a storm at the end Grandma disappears, and the family goes in search of her, finding her struggling through the heavy rain and wind with her umbrella. The wind is too much for the umbrella, and at the moment it pops inside-out, “Heidenröslein” returns, now sung by a children’s chorus with accompaniment, shifting to a higher key for the second stanza. Kurosawa creates a most extraordinary visual image of Grandma with her out-turned umbrella in the storm, the glorious sounds of Schubert backing it up, Grandma persevering as a symbol of all that is wholesome, decent, strong, and a bit kooky as well. She has enjoyed telling strange and wonderful tales, and now both visually and aurally she becomes part of the myth she has generated.

We hear Schubert songs performed in numerous films, in fact often, unlike *Lifeboat* and *Rhapsody in August*, as Schubert wrote them, such as “Mein” from *Die schöne Müllerin* in *Onegin* (1999) or the accompaniment to “Ständchen” in *The Governess* (1998). Few films introduce performances more charmingly than *Mécaniques célestes* (*Celestial Clockwork*, 1995), by the French-based Venezuelan director Fina Torres. The film opens at a wedding in Caracas with the performance of an old wedding chestnut, Schubert’s “Ave Maria,” and during the singing the bride-to-be, Ana Mendoza (Ariadna Gil), clearly

distraught, looks around her and bolts, collecting a few possessions at home before boarding a plane to Paris still in her wedding gown. Surrounded by a delightfully zany assortment of characters that include old friends from Venezuela, a Ukrainian voice teacher, a French psychoanalyst who finds herself attracted to Ana, a gay Maria Callas fan who marries her to help her beat French immigration law, an African witch doctor, and a frustrated Italian film director mounting a film production of Rossini's *La cenerentola* (*Cinderella*), the young singer staggers from one madcap mishap to the next in her quest for the leading role in Rossini's opera. She marries the gay Armand in a marriage of convenience in a church for the benefit of his parents, and again we hear "Ave Maria," this time with scaled down resources—a singer accompanied by a music minus one LP.

She escapes marriage in the first place to see if she has the potential for a career as a singer, and this takes her to the studio of M. Grigorief, originally from Kiev, who, when she suggests singing Rossini, explodes with, "No, no Italians here! Music is serious business!" When it comes to singing most people would not have a problem with Italians, but to Grigorief only Schubert really counts. He hands her a Schubert song, "Litanei auf das Fest aller Seelen" ("Litany for the Feast of All Souls"), asks her if she knows it, and starts the accompaniment. She sings tentatively, so he tells her not to be afraid but to take pleasure in singing. The lesson begins as he talks about technique that simply sets the singer free; only emotion counts. To explain what he wants he plays the accompaniment and indicates what emotion she should reveal at each point, starting with intelligence, serene beauty, and joy in the E flat opening. With the shift to C minor and the chromatically descending bass line he tells her to feel "pain, suffering, despair; always an emotion. Do you understand?" Now she does, and she sings the first stanza with tone and feeling so well that he agrees to take her on as a student.

Before the lesson we see Ana at the apartment she shares with her Venezuelan friends going up on the roof to take in the night air, and while there she hears someone across the way playing the accompaniment to "Auf dem Wasser zu singen" ("To Be Sung on the Water"). She does not quite know the words, but she sits and hums or sings along. Later, emerging from the shower, she still hums the tune. After the lesson, re-energized as a singer, she sings the lively



Ana sings “Litanei” in *Celestial Clockwork*, directed by Fina Torres, 1995.
Photo credit: Photofest, New York.

DropBooks

“Der Musensohn” (“The Son of the Muses”) as she does domestic work to eke out a meager living. She could have been prosperously married in Caracas, but now she revels in her freedom, as she sings “Der Musensohn”: “Roaming through field and woods, whistling my song, in this way I go from place to place. And everyone keeps strictly to my beat, and to my rhythm.” In this film about opera, specifically *La cenerentola* with Ana very much in the role, Schubert nevertheless plays an important part, since it establishes not only her seriousness as a singer but also her genuineness as a person capable of grasping and living the simple and artless emotions that nothing can reveal quite like Schubert’s songs. Had the movie gone directly to the opera without the Schubert episode, we would have little reason to think any more highly of her than we do of her shallow and manipulative roommate Céleste, who makes films with gaudy colors and does anything to promote herself. In this case Schubert gives the substance.

OUTING SCHUBERT

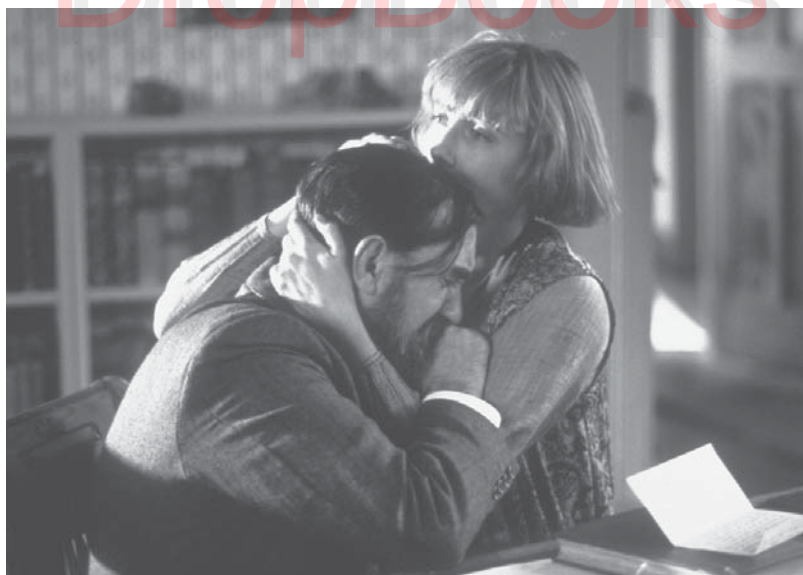
Now that Schubert's heterosexuality has been questioned, some filmmakers have found it useful to include his music in gay films or to make a character's gayness in a straight film more apparent. In Atom Egoyan's *Exotica* (1994), for example, in a scene in a shop for exotic pets with the owner arguing on the phone with a client and then having to deal with a tax auditor, very quietly in the background we hear Schubert's Impromptu in A flat, Op. 90, no. 4 (D899), perhaps coming from a CD. At no other point in this film do we hear any music by Schubert, so in this case Egoyan seems to consider it the appropriate backdrop for the gay store owner (played by Don McKellar), whose homosexuality is made explicit in other parts of the film. A visit from the Revenue Canada man of course causes tension, and the owner appears flustered in contrast to the other's calmness. Without Maynard Solomon's theory, this would have been an unlikely choice of music for this scene. The same appears to be true of Nancy Meckler's *Alive and Kicking* (1996), a gay love story about a male dancer with AIDS, which uses the familiar Impromptu in G flat.

Something much more complex and sophisticated happens in Christopher Hampton's 1995 film *Carrington*, a biography of the early twentieth-century painter Dora Carrington (Emma Thompson), picking up her story after she leaves art college and following her life and loves until her early death by suicide. The film is as much about Lytton Strachey (Jonathan Pryce), in fact based on a biography by Michael Holroyd of the homosexual Bloomsbury writer.²⁰ After he and Carrington meet, their lives become inextricably intertwined in an odd but enduring love. Both of them have other lovers, but they always come back together; before he dies, Strachey admits he loved no one else but her and regrets he did not marry her. They become close when Strachey takes the assignment of persuading her to submit herself to the up-and-coming painter Mark Gertler. She sees through the ruse, and simply feels more passionately about Strachey the more they see each other. The first time Strachey sees her he mistakes her for a boy, and she regrets she had not been born as a male, finding the sexual advances of Gertler repulsive. She has a series of lovers, even marrying one of them, and eventually becomes comfortable with her sexuality, but the lines between straight and gay blur almost constantly

throughout the film. The woman who would have preferred to be a man has sex with a number of men but loves only a gay man. The gay man has affairs with other younger men, but he loves only a woman who has her own share of sexual ambiguity. Her marriage to Ralph Partridge seems plausible because he seems at ease with both Carrington and Strachey, not rejecting physical advances from Strachey and even sharing their bed.

For the choice of music by Schubert in the film, along with the score composed by Michael Nyman, Hampton had to look no further than Holroyd's biography of Strachey, and a quote by Strachey himself about the move he and Carrington made from their much-loved Mill House at Tidmarsh to the more palatial Ham Spray House, a move made possible by his writing royalties:

Tidmarsh would always have a special place in [Strachey's] memory. One night in July 1929, he almost wept as some music on the phonograph recalled their life there. "Among others, there was a string quartet by Schubert, which brought back Tidmarsh to me with



Dora comforts Strachey in *Carrington*, directed by Christopher Hampton, 1995. Photo credit: Photofest, New York.

extraordinary vividness. I felt the loss of that regime very strongly, and in fact . . . nearly burst into tears. I hope and pray that our new grandeur . . . won't alter anything in any way."²¹

Hampton uses not a quartet but the Quintet in C (the second movement, D956). Each time we hear it, the first time at a performance that Strachey and Carrington attend, then as a phonograph recording, and finally as the background music to the final scene of the film, we hear only material from the third part of this three-part form, music that struggles unsuccessfully to recapture the nostalgia of the opening section after the more violent middle part. In fact, the quote from Strachey seems to set the musical agenda, dealing with the issue of the possibility of things returning to what they had been after change has occurred.

This use of the Schubert quintet has been written about perceptively and in a personal way by Philip Brett in his essay "Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire."²² Not a Schubert scholar, Brett credits Solomon's hypothesis about Schubert's homosexuality as his own cue to come out as a musicologist and spearhead gay research in the field. He concludes the essay with his discussion of *Carrington*, and describes in accurate detail how Hampton uses Schubert's quintet, including the live performance immediately after Carrington has had sex with the grimly determined if not violent Gertler, the phonograph recording later, and the music at the end, even noting that Hampton choreographs her failed attempt to pull the trigger with the music. For Brett, the significance of Schubert in this film lies in its representation of Strachey's sexuality and capacity for passion despite his cool demeanor, in "the association between Schubert and non-aggressive masculinity in a homosexual context" and the rise "towards transcendental rapture."²³ He goes a step further: "Do we sense that Carrington's own subjectivity is enshrined in the first violin part, the only really active agent at this point in the score?" In his conclusion he revels in Hampton's skill in drawing together "a pillar of the 'classical music' canon and a newly arrived if anciently recognized homosexuality in our midst"; Brett proclaims joyously at the end that "Schubert, we find somewhat to our surprise, is really one of us after all."²⁴

Not all will interpret the appearance of Schubert in *Carrington* as Brett does in his sensitive and vulnerably exposed essay, and for

the director who selected this wonderfully apt music, actually choreographing the entire final suicide scene to it, the interpretation cannot end where Brett does. Hampton's achievement goes well beyond biography (altered, as Brett notes, to suit his purposes), to probe a human drama the complexity and suffering of which few have been able to express with as much personal insight as Schubert. At the heart of his drama stands a sense of wandering that takes us through peculiar choices and deviations, some pleasurable but some not, to the realization that nothing can be as it was. Strachey wrote of hoping to find that glorious past when moving to a grander setting, that nothing will be altered, but his very anxiety about it answers in the negative. While much of the film has been focused on Strachey, the end belongs to Carrington, and Schubert as well; for her the passing of Strachey has made life unbearable. Reflecting on their utter happiness together, she destroys her paint supplies, throwing them into a funeral pyre with his personal effects as well, including his glasses, perhaps also a reference to Schubert's glasses, whose music envelops the scene, all to the pace of the Quintet's adagio movement. For her it is "impossible to think that every day of my life you will be away. . . . I write in an empty book. . . . I cry in an empty room." She presses herself to his coat in a dark room, and on the final chord of the Schubert we hear the gunshot that ends her life. Hampton does not let us hear anything but the conclusion of the movement, and the music we hear at the failed attempt to pull the trigger provides a reminder of the violent middle section of the movement. At this moment, with the camera no longer on Carrington but now looking to daylight and the out-of-doors, the music awakens a flood of memories, of all the violence Hampton has previously held back, here captured in a musical digression and a gunshot. Brett rightly reveals a passionate vestige of "our" Schubert here, despite his labeling of the film as "middlebrow culture." His reading, though, is narrower than that of Hampton, who appears to embrace a wider audience.

ADAPTATIONS OF LITERATURE

In his play *Death and the Maiden*, Ariel Dorfman gave words to Paulina, as noted in chapter 9, that proclaim she will be able to listen

to her Schubert again, and even go to concerts as in the past. She asks if Roberto knew that Schubert was homosexual, and assumes he must have known, since he had repeated it many times while he played *Death and the Maiden*. In turning the play into a script for Roman Polanski's film of the same name (1994), Dorfman went further with this exchange, providing a different meaning: "What a sad and beautiful man Schubert must have been, only 31 when he died. Did you know he was homosexual? Of course you did—you're the one who told me. He was a faggot but you don't like faggots; you like a real man's cock." Paulina (Sigourney Weaver) raises her voice for the last sentence, setting up Schubert's homosexuality as part of his beauty, making Dr. Roberto Miranda's (Ben Kingsley) disdain for homosexuals an aspect of his brutality. She can identify with homosexuals as people who understand torment, as targets of homophobic oppression, and part of her great love for Schubert seems to stem from this identification—something that helped her through her own torment at the hands of Roberto.



Paulina threatens Dr. Miranda in *Death and the Maiden*, directed by Roman Polanski, 1994. Photo credit: Photofest, New York.

As one would expect, the film differs from the play in a number of respects. The play uses two cassette players, superimposing the voice of Roberto's confession with the sound of the Schubert quartet, while the film uses only one, the same machine playing Schubert and recording the confession. The film has no need to remain indoors, and a few outdoor scenes take the plot further, for example Paulina pushing Roberto's car over a cliff so she can use that as an additional threat, a convenient death for him to join his car at the bottom of the cliff. In fact, the genuine confession comes as Roberto teeters at the edge of the cliff. While the play has no performance of the *Death and the Maiden* Quartet at the beginning, only at the end, and a virtual one at that, Polanski frames the film with it at beginning and end, in both cases actual live performances with Paulina and Gerardo Escobar (Stuart Wilson) in the audience. The ending device of the play, turning a mirror to the audience, does not happen in the film, but indirectly it occurs with shots of the audience at the concert, allowing the real audience to identify with that audience, with the actors among them. Not only do we see husband and wife in the audience, but they look up to the balcony to see Roberto there as well, sitting with his son whose hair he strokes affectionately. Earlier Paulina had hoped identifying the torturers would, if nothing else, force their families to know what monsters they really were, but that moment has not yet come for Roberto. Attending this performance, Paulina seems to be on the road to recovery, revealed by being able to listen to Schubert again, but tension remains in the air, reinforced by the agitation of the first movement of the Schubert, and that tension lingers in the fact that Roberto has not yet had to face the consequences of his past as a torturer. As members sitting in the audience with Roberto, we wonder if that day will ever come, but at the same time we must ask the same question that Dorfman's mirror posed: what would we have done?

* * *

Unlike Dorfman, who played a strong role in transforming his play into a film, Elfriede Jelinek did not collaborate with Michael Haneke in turning *Die Klavierspielerin* into the film *La pianiste* (*The Piano Teacher*). Needless to say she took a strong interest in the project, and while for the most part she could look at the film as a faithful adaptation, she had objections, too, such as Haneke keeping so much

of it indoors: "I would have preferred that it be shot in the Prater, a little like Antonioni's *Blow Up*, to convey the idea of countryside, of nature, of openness, of the horizon."²⁵ Here we have Jelinek the would-be filmmaker speaking, since little in the novel actually gives us a sense of nature. If anything, in the novel she treats nature ironically, as a playground for obnoxious sports fanatics or locations for Erika to indulge in voyeurism. Haneke's Klemmer, instead of being a hiker or mountain climber, becomes an ice hockey player, confined to indoor rinks (in one scene his teammates bully two young female figure skaters off the ice), practicing a sport that in recent decades has become increasingly violent. Erika does not roam about in the Prater or look under train trestles to satisfy her voyeurism, but instead frequents sex shops; she gets no closer to the outdoors than at a seedy drive-in theater, where she can spy on love-makers in their cars (and endure berating when caught).

If the world outside of Austria and Germany discovered Jelinek only gradually during the 1980s and 1990s, that changed dramatically with Haneke's film in 2001. The film quickly became a huge international success, winning well-deserved prizes at major film festivals, including Cannes, and playing to audiences worldwide. One cannot imagine better casting than Isabelle Huppert as Erika and Annie Girardot as Mother, both giving stunning performances. Benoît Magimel as Walter Klemmer rounds out the threesome. With this film, Haneke joined an elite group of internationally respected directors.

While Schubert's *Winterreise* played a strong part in the novel, a song cycle with wandering that takes place entirely outdoors, by moving indoors Haneke gives the Schubert a very different treatment. *Winterreise* stays firmly entrenched in the film, but here in a very different way, representing one of the primary shifts Haneke has made. In the novel quotations or adaptations of the text of *Winterreise* pop up periodically, its wandering running parallel to Erika's, or its music something that could soothe Klemmer. In the film, *Winterreise* becomes a performance vehicle, and in fact a source of tension between Erika and a pupil or Erika and the world. The pupil, Anna Schober (the name Schober of course resounds in Schubert's circle), prepares the accompaniment of the song cycle for a performance with a student baritone, and Erika demolishes the student's confidence at every opportunity. This student perhaps shows the potential of becoming a real

performer, and since that eluded Erika, she certainly will not allow a student to succeed where she did not. She finally removes Anna from the picture altogether, putting glass in her pocket to injure her hand; she will not, as happens with the flute student in the novel, have a rival for the affection of Klemmer.

Also unlike the novel, Erika steps in as the substitute pianist for the *Winterreise* performance, much to the appreciation of Anna and Anna's mother, and the lead-up to this performance becomes the final scene of the film. The day after Klemmer has come to her apartment to rape her, Erika waits for Klemmer to arrive, lurking about in the Conservatory concert hall lobby to see him. Haneke rightly points out that Jelinek treats Klemmer more negatively than he does,²⁶ and that comes out in the rape scene when he asks her if she's okay before he leaves. Before leaving for the concert, she puts a knife in a handbag, arousing similar expectations as the last scenario of the novel. In the film, that expectation becomes more complex since we are waiting for her to enter the hall and accompany the singer for the performance of *Winterreise*; how could she stab someone and then perform? As in the novel, she stabs herself harmlessly in the upper chest, inflicting self-mutilation in a public place with no one to watch. She opens the outer door and leaves the hall, and the film ends, without any music on the soundtrack. We expect to hear Schubert, though, and her final act becomes a surrogate for the last song of the cycle, "Der Leiermann" (The Organ Grinder), as she does nothing but prolong her absurd and debased existence, unable to find the satisfaction of death.

Like the novel, Haneke uses the Piano Sonata in A (D959), especially the second movement, but not only that. Klemmer can be heard playing it for Erika more than once, and when he plays the second movement, he always picks it up toward the end of the middle section, a point already relatively calm, and then continues to the final section. Haneke, though, makes little of the theme that nothing can be as it was, and so the second movement does not get the last word. The first time we hear Klemmer perform he plays his favorite Schubert piece, the third movement of the same sonata, a *scherzo* with an upbeat atmosphere, and when playing for Erika, he also proceeds to this movement after the second. Schubert here represents something much more hopeful than the choices made in the novel, becoming more generally symbolic of an antidote to Erika's debasement.²⁷ When she

sneers at his playing of the sonata, he questions why she would want to destroy what he sees as the best thing they have between them. We may even have some hope that the music will ultimately cure her, not being part of the sickness that it was for Jelinek.

In a scene immediately following Klemmer's first performance of the Schubert Scherzo at his uncle's soiree (Erika also played for the same house concert), we see Erika with two colleagues playing the slow movement of the Piano Trio in E flat (D929), from near the beginning of the movement, where the piano takes the melody. The cellist asks to go back to the beginning so she can play her ornaments as Erika did, which shows Erika having a positive influence through her playing of Schubert. The music continues as the scene cuts to Erika walking along a dark street, entering a porn shop, and waiting her turn to go into a video cubicle, making some middle-aged men edgy as she stares at them while waiting. In the booth she uses discarded tissue to wipe her nose, and the Schubert trio stops as she selects a video. When Kubrick uses this piece in *Barry Lyndon*, we may be prompted to think of the part of it not actually heard, the violent middle passages, but in Haneke's film we will be less inclined to make that



Klemmer plays his audition in *La pianiste*, directed by Michael Haneke, 2001. Photo credit: Photofest, New York.

leap. In a moment we have seen the two extremes of Erika, the fine musician and unifying force and the degraded Erika at her very worst. Schubert combines both sides, but one doubts that Haneke offers Schubert in this way. Schubert seems to belong here to Erika's good side, and extends ironically into the porn shop.

Another disagreement Jelinek had with the film involves the shift in balance between Erika and her mother and Erika and Klemmer, putting more emphasis on the latter relationship. The complex love/hate relationship with Mother cannot work in a film as it can through the psychological probing of a novel, although Annie Girardot plays Mother's oppressiveness brilliantly. A love story, no matter how bizarre the Erika/Klemmer relationship may be, makes better cinema than the psychological warfare of a mother and daughter. Schubert's centrality to the film has little to do with the family, as Mother's only care about music extends to the past—to the career that should have been for her daughter. Klemmer, on the other hand, brings a passion for Schubert despite his studies as an engineer and being a hockey player; according to every other member of the Conservatory faculty he plays Schubert sensitively and brilliantly, and he believes Schubert should bind him inextricably to Erika. If Schubert represents what good there may be in Erika, then her meeting a Schubert soul mate should have the potential to lead to her redemption, removing her from her perverse relationship with Mother which drives her to voyeurism and self-mutilation, and into something more wholesome. Haneke seems to hold out hope that there may be a possibility for Erika to become something other than what she is, and that Klemmer and his naive love of Schubert could be the catalyst.

The letter asking for abuse and bondage comes from the old perverse Erika, something she does not understand herself, nor can she stop herself from making such a request, even though she does not actually want any of that. The thoughts behind her letter belong to the apartment she shares with her mother—how she would behave in those confines in letting someone other than Mother dominate her. Since Mother has used psychological terrorism on her daughter during her entire life, Erika can imagine being dominated by someone else who uses physical torture. Outside of the Conservatory or the apartment she can envisage something else, a much more ordinary lovemaking, and this almost happens on the floor of the storeroom at

the arena, although she lacked the stomach to go through with it. In the end we see a shattered Erika, having failed completely at her one attempt at love, and now with all credibility lost as well, since an audience at the Conservatory, having seen her in the lobby, will wonder why she has not come out to perform. Everything rests with *Winterreise* in the end, the performance that should have been, Erika now driven out of society into madness. The song most persistently heard in the film has been "Im Dorfe" ("In the Village"), in which dogs bark at the wanderer as he leaves town, driven out and bereft of dreams. We also hear "Der Wegweiser" ("The Signpost"), in which signs point to a road from which no one has ever returned, a road that Erika at the end clearly takes, her existence completely debased, without any sounds of Schubert to pull her through.

For both Erika and the audience (both the one watching the film and the one in the concert hall), the silence invokes a virtual *Winterreise*; we expected a performance but now we must create it for ourselves. In an interview with Haneke, Christopher Sharrett, undoubtedly aware at least to some extent of Jelinek's treatment of Schubert, made this observation: "Schubert's *Winterreise* seems central to *The Piano Teacher*. Some have argued that there is a connection between Erika and Schubert's traveler in the song cycle. This goes back to the broader question as to whether music represents the healthy side of Erika's psyche or simply assists her repression." Haneke makes his position as clear as possible:

Of course the seventeenth song ["Im Dorfe"] holds a central place in the film, and could be viewed as the motto of Erika and the film itself. The whole cycle establishes the idea of following a path not taken by others, which gives an ironic effect to the film, I think. It is difficult to say if there is a correlation between the neurosis of Erika Kohut and what could be called the psychogram of a great composer like Schubert. But of course there is a great sense of mourning in Schubert that is very much part of the milieu of the film. Someone with the tremendous problems borne by Erika may well project them onto an artist of Schubert's very complex sensibility. I can't give a further interpretation. Great music transcends suffering beyond specific causes. *Die Winterreise* transcends misery even in the detailed description of misery. All important artworks, especially those concerned with the darker side of experience, despite whatever

despair conveyed, transcend the discomfort of the content in the realization of their form.²⁸

The implication of Schubert at the end appears to offer, if not hope or redemption, something that *Carrington* could not find—the possibility of experiencing devastation at its worst, and still recognizing that which allows one to go on living. With the exceptionally strong presence of Schubert in one of the most modern art forms, we can be certain of the continuation of his voice among us, and that in new and vivid ways he remains “our Schubert.”

NOTES

1. For a full list, see Friederike Jary-Janecka, *Franz Schubert am Theater und im Film* (Anif/Salzburg: Müller-Speiser, 2000), 176.

2. For a compendium, see Janet Wasserman, “Schubert Filmography: Films with Schubert Incidental Music,” <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/franzschubert/articles/filminc.html> (10 March 2004). Wasserman lists 222 films, but the list is by no means complete as almost half the films discussed in this chapter are not included.

3. Priscilla Barlow, “Surreal Symphonies: *L’âge d’or* and the Discreet Charms of Classical Music,” in *Soundtrack Available: Essays on Film and Popular Music*, ed. Pamela Robertson Wojcik and Arthur Knight (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 38.

4. Barlow takes this view, although she does moderate it with other factors.

5. J. Francisco Aranda, “Out of Innocence,” in *The World of Luis Buñuel*, ed. Joan Mellen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 38–39.

6. David Schroeder, *Cinema’s Illusions, Opera’s Allure: The Operatic Impulse in Film* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 198–201.

7. Royal S. Brown, *Overtones and Undertones: Reading Film Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 61.

8. Brown, *Overtones and Undertones*, 125.

9. Jo Swerling, screenplay for *Lifeboat*, revised final version (29 July 1943): p. 54. I would like to thank the Margaret Herrick Library in Los Angeles for placing the Hitchcock scripts at my disposal, and especially Barbara Hall for her assistance.

10. Michel Ciment, *Kubrick: The Definitive Edition*, trans. Gilbert Adair (New York: Faber and Faber, 2001), 174.

11. Timothy E. Scheuerer, “The Score for 2001: A *Space Odyssey*,” *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 25, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 173–82.

12. Ciment, *Kubrick*, 177.
13. Elise F. Knapp and James Pegolotti, "Music in Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon*: A Catalyst to Manipulate," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 19 (1995): 93.
14. Ciment, *Kubrick*, 174.
15. Ciment, *Kubrick*, 174.
16. See especially Thomas Fahy, "Dissonant Harmonies: Classical Music and the Problems of Class in *Crimes and Misdemeanors*," in *Woody Allen: A Casebook*, ed. Kimball King (New York: Routledge, 2001), 81–91; and Janet Wolff, "Death and the Maiden: Does Semiotics Justify Murder?" *Critical Quarterly* 35 (1993): 38–44. Others mention Schubert only in passing, such as Sam B. Girgus in *The Films of Woody Allen*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 136.
17. *Woody Allen on Woody Allen, In Conversation with Stig Björkman* (New York: Grove Press, 1993), 217–19.
18. The works by Schubert include the Impromptus Op. 90, Nos. 2 and 3 (D899); Piano Sonata in A, second movement (D959); *Rosamunde*, Ballet and Entr'acte No. 2 (D797); String Quartet in D minor, second movement (D810); "Wiegenlied" (D498); Sonata for Arpeggione and Piano (D821); *Fierrabras*, Overture (D796); "Ständchen" (D920); *Deutsche Messe* (D872); *Deutsche Tänze*, no. 1 (D90); Mass in E flat major, Sanctus (D950); and Waltz, no. 18 (D779).
19. Klaus Bangerter, "Die Liebe liebt das Wandern: Zur Musik von Franz Schubert in Bertrand Bliers Film *Trop belle pour toi*," *Musica* 46, no. 2 (March/April 1992): 83–84.
20. Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey: The New Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1995).
21. Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey*.
22. Philip Brett, "Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire," *19th-Century Music* 21 (1997): 171–76.
23. Brett, "Piano Four-Hands," 173.
24. Brett, "Piano Four-Hands," 176.
25. Richard Combs, "Living in Never-Never Land: Michael Haneke Continues the Search for a New European Cinema," *Film Comment* 38, no. 2 (March/April 2002): 26.
26. Christopher Sharrett, "The World That Is Known: An Interview with Michael Haneke," *Cineaste* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 30.
27. Klaus Nüchtern, "Schubert im Pornoladen," in *Haneke/Jelinek: Die Klavierspielerinnen. Drehbuch Gespräche Essays*, ed. Stefan Grisseemann (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2001), 135.
28. Sharrett, "The World That Is Known," 30.

Selected Bibliography

- Bangerter, Klaus. "Die Liebe liebt das Wandern: Zur Musik von Franz Schubert in Bertrand Bliers Film *Trop belle pour toi!*" *Musica* 46, no. 2 (1992): 83–89.
- Barea, Ilsa. *Vienna: Legend and Reality*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1966.
- Barlow, Priscilla. "Surreal Symphonies: *L'age d'or* and the Discreet Charms of Classical Music." In *Soundtrack Available: Essays on Film and Popular Music*. Edited by Pamela Robertson Wojcik and Arthur Knight, 31–52. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Biba, Otto. "Schubert's Position in Viennese Musical Life." *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 106–13.
- Brett, Philip. "Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire." *19th-Century Music* 21 (1997): 149–76.
- Brown, Maurice J. E. *Schubert: A Critical Biography*. London: Macmillan, 1978.
- Ciment, Michel. *Kubrick: The Definitive Edition*. Translated by Gilbert Adair. New York: Faber and Faber, 2001.
- Clive, Peter. *Schubert and His World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Cone, Edward T. "Schubert's Beethoven." In *The Creative World of Beethoven*. Edited by Paul Henry Lang. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970.
- Daverio, John. *Crossing Paths: Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- DeNora, Tia. *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna 1792–1803*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Deutsch, Otto Erich. *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*. Translated by Eric Blom. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946.

-
- . "The Reception of Schubert's Works in England." *Monthly Musical Record* 81 (1951): 200–03, 236–37.
- , ed. *Schubert: Memoirs by his Friends*. Translated by Rosamond Ley and John Nowell. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958.
- , ed. *Franz Schubert's Letters and Other Writings*. Translated by Venetia Savile. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970.
- Dorfman, Ariel. *Death and the Maiden*. New York: Penguin Books, 1991.
- Dürr, Walther. "Schubert and Johann Michael Vogl: A Reappraisal." *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 126–40.
- Emerson, Donald E. *Metternich and the Political Police*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968.
- Erickson, Raymond, ed. *Schubert's Vienna*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Fahy, Thomas. "Dissonant Harmonies: Classical Music and the Problems of Class in *Crimes and Misdemeanors*." In *Woody Allen: A Casebook*. Edited by Kimball King. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Fisk, Charles. *Returning Cycles: Contexts for the Interpretation of Schubert's Impromptus and Last Sonatas*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Gaskill, Howard, ed. *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.
- Gibbs, Christopher. "'Komm, geh' mit mir': Schubert's Uncanny Erbkönig." *19th-Century Music* 19 (1995): 115–33.
- , ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *The Life of Schubert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Gingerich, John M. "Unfinished Considerations: Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony in the Context of His Beethoven Project." *19th-Century Music* 31 (2007): 196.
- Glofcheskie, John. "Schubert and the 'Gentle Fortepiano.'" *Musick: A Quarterly Journal Published by Early Music Vancouver* 11, no. 3 (Jan. 1990): 2–9.
- Gramit, David. "The Intellectual and Aesthetic Tenets of Franz Schubert's Circle." Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1987.
- Gülke, Peter. "The Counter-Symphony—Schubert's 'Great' C Major Symphony as an Answer to Beethoven." *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 52 (1997): 22–31.
- Hanslick, Eduard. "Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony (1865)." In *Vienna's Golden Years on Music 1850–1900*. Translated by Henry Pleasants III. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950.
- Hanson, Alice M. *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

- Hilmar, Ernst. *Franz Schubert in His Time*. Translated by Reinhard G. Pauly. Portland, Ore.: Amadeus Press, 1988.
- Jary-Janecka, Friederike. *Franz Schubert am Theater und im Film*. Anif/Salzburg: Müller-Speiser, 2000.
- Jelinek, Elfriede. *Die Klavierspielerin*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1986.
- Knapp, Elise F., and James Pegolotti. "Music in Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon*: A Catalyst to Manipulate." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 19 (1995): 92–97.
- Kramer, Lawrence. *Franz Schubert: Sexuality, Subjectivity, Song*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Kreissle von Hellborn, Heinrich. *The Life of Franz Schubert*. Translated by Arthur Duke Coleridge. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869.
- Kurth, Richard. "On the Subject of Schubert's 'Unfinished' Symphony: Was bedeutet die Bewegung?" *19th-Century Music* 23 (1999): 3–32.
- Landon, H. C. Robbins. *Mozart and Vienna*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1991.
- Liszt, Franz. "Schubert's Alfonso und Estrella." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 10 (1 September 1854): 101–05.
- Mainte, Marie Luise. *Franz Schubert in der Rezeption Robert Schumann*. Kassel, Germany: Bärenreiter, 1995.
- Marson, Bonnie. *Sleeping with Schubert*. New York: Random House, 2004.
- McKay, Elizabeth Norman. *Franz Schubert's Music for the Theatre*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991.
- . *Franz Schubert: A Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Messing, Scott. "The Vienna Beethoven Centennial Festival of 1870." *The Beethoven Newsletter* 6, no. 3 (Winter 1991): 59–63.
- . "Klimt's Schubert and the Fin-de-Siècle Imagination." In *Music and Modern Art*. Edited by James Leggio. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- . *Schubert in the European Imagination. Volume 1: The Romantic and Victorian Eras*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2006.
- . *Schubert in the European Imagination. Volume 2: Fin-de-siècle Vienna*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2007.
- . "Franz Schubert and Viennese Modernity." In *Wien 1897: Kulturgeschichtliches Profil eines Epochenjahres*. Edited by Christian Glanz. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Moore, Gerald. *The Schubert Song Cycles*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975.
- Musulin, Stella. *Vienna in the Age of Metternich*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1975.
- Newbould, Brian. *Schubert and the Symphony: A New Perspective*. London: Toccata Press, 1992.

- Nüchtern, Klaus. "Schubert im Pornoladen." In *Haneke/Jelinek: Die Klavierspielerin. Drehbuch Gespräche Essays*. Edited by Stafan Grisseman. Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2001.
- Pascall, Robert. "My Love of Schubert—No Fleeting Fancy: Brahms's Response to Schubert." *Schubert durch die Brille* 21 (June 1998): 39–60.
- Pesic, Peter. "Schubert's Dream." *19th-Century Music* 23 (1999): 136–44.
- Radcliffe, Philip. *Schubert's Piano Sonatas*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971.
- Reed, John. *The Schubert Song Companion*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.
- . *Schubert*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- . *Schubert. The Final Years*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Schiøtz, Aksel. *The Singer and His Art*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.
- Schroeder, David. "Alban Berg and Peter Altenberg: Intimate Art and the Aesthetics of Life." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 261–94.
- . "Dorfman, Schubert, and *Death and the Maiden*." *Comparative Literature and Culture* 9, no. 1 (2007), <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol9/iss1/18/>.
- . "Schubert's 'Einsamkeit' and Haslinger's 'Weiterreise.'" *Music and Letters* 71 (1990): 352–60.
- . "Schubert the Singer." *The Music Review* 49 (1988): 254–66.
- Simpson, Josephine. *Peter Altenberg: A Neglected Writer of the Viennese Jahrhundertwende*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987.
- Solomon, Maynard. "Schubert and Beethoven." *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979): 114–25.
- . "Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini." *19th-Century Music* 12 (1989): 193–206.
- Steblyn, Rita. "The Peacock's Tale: Schubert's Sexuality Reconsidered." *19th-Century Music* 17 (1993): 5–33.
- . *Die Unsinnsgesellschaft: Franz Schubert, Leopold Kupelwieser und ihr Freundeskreis*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1998.
- Walker, Alan. "Liszt and the Schubert Song Transcriptions." *The Musical Quarterly* 67 (1981).
- Wasserman, Janet I. "Franz Schubert as Painted by Gustav Klimt and Julius Schmid." *The Schubertian: Journal of the Schubert Institute* 32 (July 2001): 14–20.

———. “Schubert Filmography: Films with Schubert Incidental Music.”
<http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/franzschubert/articles/filminc.html> (10 March 2004).

Wigmore, Richard, trans. *Schubert: The Complete Song Texts*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1988.

Youens, Susan. *Retracing a Winter's Journey: Schubert's Winterreise*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.

DropBooks

Selected Discography

AUDIO

Die Schöne Müllerin

- The Complete Schiøtz Recordings 1933–1946*. Volume 4. Danacord, 1997.
Félix, Thierry, and Paul Badura-Skoda. Arcana, 1997. AR750.
Fischer-Dieskau, Dietrich, and Gerald Moore. Angel, 1962. 3628 3s.
Hagegård, Håkan, and Emanuel Ax. RCA Victor, 1994.
Hüsch, Gerhard, and Hans Udo Müller. EMI, 1978. SH295.
Lehmann, Lotte, and Paul Ulanowsky. Columbia, n.d. ML5996.
Lorenz, Siegfried, and Norman Shetler. Curb Classic Collection, 1995.
Marshall, Lois, and Greta Kraus. CBC, 1982. MV1003.
Schiøtz, Aksel, and Gerald Moore. Danacord, 1997.
Schreier, Peter, and Walter Olbertz. Berlin Classics, 1996. LC6203.
Souzay, Gérard, and Dalton Baldwin. Philips, n.d. PHS900-074.
Wunderlich, Fritz, and Hubert Giessen. Deutsche Grammophon, 1966. 447 452-2.

Winterreise

- Fassbaender, Brigitte, and Aribert Reimann. EMI, 2002.
Fischer-Dieskau, Dietrich, and Alfred Brendel. Philips, 1986. 464 739-2.
——— and Daniel Barenboim. Deutsche Grammophon, 1980. 463 501-2.
——— and Gerald Moore. EMI, 2002.
——— and Gerald Moore. EMI, 2004.
——— and Hertha Klust. Classica d'Oro, 2001. CDO 4006.

- and Jörg Demus. Deutsche Grammophon, 1966. 447 421-2.
 Goerne, Matthias, and Alfred Brendel. Decca, 2004. 467 092-2.
 Hotter, Hans, and Gerald Moore. EMI, 1987. CDH 7610022.
 Pears, Peter, and Benjamin Britten. Decca, 2000. 466 382-2.
 Prey, Hermann, and Wolfgang Sawallisch. Philips, 1973. 468 143-2.

Impromptus

- Eight Impromptus, D899 & 935; Six Moments Musicaux, D.780. Edwin Fischer. Testament (EMI), 1998. SBT 1145.
 Impromptus. Radu Lupu. Decca, 1999. 460 975-2.
 Impromptus. Wilhelm Kempff. Deutsche Grammophon, n.d. 139 149.
 Impromptus, D899 & 935; Allegretto, D915. Artur Schnabel. EMI, 1988. CCH 7 61021 2.
 The Impromptus, Moments Musicaux. András Schiff. London, 1998. 289 458 139-2.
 Piano Sonata in D, D850; Moments Musicaux, D780; Impromptus D899 3 & 4. Clifford Curzon. London, 1995. 443 570-2.
The Rubenstein Collection. Artur Rubenstein. RCA, 1987. 6257-2-RC.
Schubert. Claudio Arrau. Philips, 1991. 432 307-2.
 Sonata in C minor, D958; 4 Impromptus, D899. Philips, n.d. 6500 415.

Other Recordings

- Alfonso und Estrella*. Berlin Staatskapelle Orchestra and Berlin Radio Chorus. Conducted by Otmar Suitor. Theo Adam, Peter Schreier, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, et al. Berlin Classics, 1994. BER21562.
 Arpeggione Sonata. Rostropovich and Benjamin Britten. Decca, 1999. 289 460 974-2.
 Beethoven, Ludwig van. Complete Symphonies. Philadelphia Orchestra. Conducted by Riccardo Muti. EMI Classics, 72923.
 Chamber Music: CD 1. Piano Trio No.1 (Cortot/Thibaud/Casals, 1926), "Trout" Quintet (Schnabel/et al., 1935); CD 2. Fantasie in C major (Busch/Serkin, 1931), Piano Trio No. 2 (A. Busch/H. Busch/Serkin, 1935); CD 3. Grand Duo (Kreisler/Rachmaninoff, 1928), String Quintet (Pro Arte Quartet/Pini, 1935); CD 4. Sonatinas in G minor & D major and Rondo (Thibaud/Janopoulo, 1944); Octet (Léner Quartet/et al., 1928). Andante, 2003. SC-A-1010.
Death and the Maiden. Lafayette String Quartet. CBC Records, 2002. MVCD1149.

- Impromptus; Beethoven, Sonate "Pathétique." Vladimir Horowitz. Sony, 2003. SMK90433.
- Lieder (Complete Box Set). Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau. Deutsche Grammophon, n.d.
- Piano Sonatas D958 and D960. Sviatoslav Richter. Regis, 1998. RRC 1049.
- Sonata in D, D959; Four Impromptus, D935. Rudolf Serkin. Sony, 2002. 5128732000.
- Symphonies (Complete). Vienna Philharmonic. Conducted by Riccardo Muti. Foreign Media Group, 2006.

DVDs

- L'age d'or*. Directed by Luis Buñuel. New York: Kino International, 2004.
- Barry Lyndon*. Directed by Stanley Kubrick. Burbank, Calif.: Warner Home Video, 2001.
- Carrington*. Directed by Christopher Hampton. Santa Monica, Calif.: MGM Home Entertainment, 2001.
- Celestial Clockwork*. Directed by Fina Torres. Los Angeles: Mirada-Condor, 2007.
- Crimes and Misdemeanors*. Directed by Woody Allen. Santa Monica, Calif.: MGM Home Entertainment, 2001.
- Death and the Maiden*. Directed by Roman Polanski. Los Angeles: New Line Home Video, 2003.
- Double Indemnity*. Directed by Billy Wilder. Los Angeles: Universal Legacy Series, 2006.
- Lifeboat*. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2005.
- The Piano Teacher*. Directed by Michael Haneke. Montreal: Remstar, 2001.
- Rhapsody in August*. Directed by Akira Kurosawa. Santa Monica, Calif.: MGM Home Entertainment, 2003.
- Too Beautiful for You*. Directed by Bertrand Blier. Santa Monica, Calif.: MGM Home Entertainment, 2002.

DropBooks

Index

- Adler, Viktor, 79, 194
 Adorno, Theodor, 208
 Alive and Kicking, 271
 Allen, Woody, 148, 243, 258–62;
 Crimes and Misdemeanors,
 258–62
 Altenberg, Peter, 195–207, 210,
 212; *Mein Lebensabend*, 195;
 Nachfechtung, 197, 205; *Neues*
 Altes, 197; *Wie ich es sehe*, 198,
 206
 animal baiting, 82
 Anschütz, Heinrich, 83
 Apel, Willi, 199
 Arrau, Claudio, 183, 184, 185
 Atzenbrugg, 59, 97, 98, 99, 196
 Austria, 11, 74, 76–81, 93, 191,
 192, 194, 217, 218, 219, 230,
 237, 277
 Barbaja, Domenico, 109
 Bach, C. P. E., 40
 Bahr, Hermann, 194, 201
 Barenboim, Daniel, 181, 182
 Bartsch, Rudolf Hans, 192,
 217, 218, 219; *Schwammerl:
 ein Schubert-Roman*,
 192
 Bauernfeld, Eduard von, xiii, 39,
 138, 204, 219
 Beethoven, Ludwig van, xiv, xv,
 xviii, xix, xx, xxi, 19, 41, 62–63,
 64, 66, 67, 69, 78, 92, 93, 112,
 119, 124–34, 147, 157, 163,
 166, 168, 170, 171, 172, 190,
 198, 199, 211, 217, 219, 220,
 231, 235, 236, 244, 248, 254,
 267; *An die ferne Geliebte*, 112,
 125; *Coriolan* Overture, 64,
 125; *Eroica* Symphony, 62, 93,
 125, 129, 132, 134, 148; Ninth
 Symphony, 63, 248
 Berg, Alban, xviii, 174, 192, 201,
 207–11; *Altenberg Lieder*, 210,
 211
 Berio, Luciano, 174
 Berté, Heinrich, 192, 218, 219;
 Dreimäderlhaus, 192, 218

- Biedermeier, xxiii, xxiv, 91, 96,
 103, 143, 196, 218, 237
 Bildungs (educational) circle, 11,
 12, 75
 Bizet, George, 245; *Carmen*, 245
 Blake, William, 11
 Blier, Bertrand, 243, 262–66; *Trop
 belle pour toi*, 262–66
 Bloom, Harold, 166
 Bocklet, Karl Maria von, 54, 55
 Boieldieu, François Adrien, 66
 Boyle, Nicholas, 27
 Brahms, Johannes, xv, xviii, 124,
 165, 166, 171, 172, 190, 236,
 254
 Breitkopf & Härtel, 26, 109, 171,
 172
 Brendel, Alfred, 181, 182, 183,
 184
 Brett, Philip, 273, 274
 Breuning, Gerhard von, xiv, 85
 Britten, Benjamin, 165, 174, 183,
 186
 Bruchmann, Franz von, 11, 76,
 85, 88
 Budde, Elmar, 50, 182
 Buñuel, Luis, xxv, 243–47;
L'Age d'or, 243–47; *Un Chien
 Andalou*, 243, 244
 Burschenschaft, 75, 80, 95

 Caroline, Princess (Esterházy),
 197, 198
 Catel, Charles-Simon, 66
 censorship, xxiv, 11, 78, 79, 80,
 83, 89, 91, 94, 95, 100, 101
 Chaplin, Charles, 225, 253; *The
 Great Dictator*, 225, 253
 Cherubini, Luigi, 66
 Chopin, Frederic, xxiii

 Clive, Peter, 87
 coffeehouses, 195, 197, 201, 202,
 203, 209
 Collin, Matthaus von, xxi, 110
 Congress of Vienna, 74, 78, 102
 Cortot, Alfred, 50, 186
 Crumb, George, 174
 Curzon, Clifford, 122, 183, 184,
 185

 D minor, xxv, 9, 10, 18, 19, 20,
 22, 23, 31, 49, 126, 138, 142,
 143, 148, 181, 210, 211, 265
 Dali, Salvador, 24
 Denisov, Edison, 174
 Deutsch, Otto Erich, 86, 205,
 208, 219
 Dittersdorf, Karl Ditters von, 92
 Doppler, Josef, 65
 Dorfman, Ariel, xi, xxv, 175, 217,
 222–28, 274, 275, 276; *Death
 and the Maiden*, 222–28
 drunkenness, 75, 84, 85, 86, 95,
 203
 Dumba, Nikolaus, 193, 194, 196
 Dürr, Walther, 48

 Ebner, Johann Leopold, 125
 Egoyan, Atom, 271; *Exotica*, 271
 Empfindsamer Stil, 112
 Enlightenment, 62, 92, 93, 102
 Epstein, Julius, 173
 eroticism, 13, 17, 21, 27, 29, 56,
 57, 58, 59, 61, 200, 210,
 266
 Expression marks, xxii, 41–50, 61,
 177, 179, 183, 233

 Fassbaender, Brigitte, 181
 Feil, Arnold, 144

- feminine voice, xxv, 10, 11, 12,
16, 17, 18, 21, 55, 58, 59, 168,
198, 199, 200, 206, 209, 210
- Ferstl, Leopold, 76
- Fischer, Edwin, 183, 184, 185
- Fischer-Dieskau, Dietrich, 50,
175, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183,
184, 185
- flat VI, 123, 145, 233, 246
- fortepiano, 59, 61, 99
- Frankl, Ludwig August, 205
- Franz (Emperor), 6, 10, 75, 76,
78, 79, 81, 86, 92, 95, 101,
102, 104, 120
- Franz Schubert's Werke, 172
- Frauenkult, 197, 206
- French Revolution, 102
- Frischling, Franz, 65, 66
- Gahy, Josef von, 51, 55, 97
- Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott, 93,
94
- Germany, 75, 164, 190, 194, 253,
277
- Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde,
xv, 38
- Gibbs, Christopher H., xvii, 26
- Giesen, Hubert, 179
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald von,
92
- Goerne, Matthias, 181, 182, 183
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von,
xxi, xxiv, 11, 15, 15–29, 56, 61,
107, 114, 115, 116, 129, 133,
201, 209, 238, 253, 268; *Faust*,
15–22, 56; *Wilhelm Meister*,
56, 116, 209; *The Sorrows of
Young Werther*, 56
- Gone with the Wind, 247
- Gottsched, Johann Christoph, 10
- The Governess, 268
- Griesinger, Georg August, 40, 120,
163
- Grillparzer, Franz, 80, 83, 91
- Grob, Theresa, 14, 29, 32, 219
- Gyrowetz, Adalbert, xxiv, 105
- Habsburg Empire, 79, 81, 102,
105, 116
- Hamelin, Marc André, 186
- Hampton, Christopher, 148,
271–74; *Carrington*, 271–74
- Handel, Georg Frideric, 92, 254;
Messiah, 66
- Haneke, Michael, 276–81; *La
Pianiste*, 228, 276–81
- Hanslick, Eduard, xv, xvi, 158,
165, 196
- Harbison, John, 174
- Harold, Edmond, Freiherr von,
107; *Neu-entdeckte Gedichte
Ossians*, 107
- Härtling, Peter, 218–20; *Schubert:
Zwölf Moments musicaux und
ein Roman*, 218–20
- Haslinger, Tobias, 47, 48, 49, 181,
184
- Hatwig, Otto, 66
- Haydn, Joseph, xiv, xv, xix, xx, 10,
37, 38, 40, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,
92, 93, 112, 119, 120, 121,
124, 132, 147, 150, 157, 163,
166, 189, 190, 217, 234;
The Creation, 10, 66, 147,
150; Symphony No. 103,
132
- Hazlitt, William, 108, 114
- Herbeck, Johann, 129
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 11,
107

- Hérolde, Louis Joseph Ferdinand, 99; *Das Zauberglöckchen*, 99
- Hilmar, Ernst, 96
- Hitchcock, Alfred, 243, 250–53, 254, 267, 282n9; *Lifeboat*, 250–53
- Hoffmann, E. T. A., xix, xxiv
- Hölty, Heinrich Christoph, xxi, 23
- Holzappel, Anton, 4, 40, 63
- homosexuality, xvii, xxviii, 27, 219, 224, 271–74, 275
- Hotter, Hans, 181, 182
- Hüsch, Gerhard, 179, 180
- Hüttenbrenner, Anselm, xiv, 6, 14, 39
- Hüttenbrenner, Josef, 23, 85
- Imperial Court Choir, 4, 5, 38
- Jacobi, Friedrich, 11
- Jacobins, 80, 92, 93, 102
- Jean Paul (Johann Paul Friedrich Richter), xix, 11, 167
- Jelinek, Elfriede, xxv, 148, 217, 228–39, 258, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281; *Die Klavierspielerin*, 228–29, 231–39
- Jewish, 83, 225, 230, 253, 259
- Joseph II, 4, 6, 81, 102, 104
- Joyce, James, 228
- Kärntnertor Theater, 98, 99, 109
- Kaunitz, Wenzel, 103
- Kempff, Wilhelm, 183, 184
- Kenner, Josef, xix, 85, 86, 205
- Klimt, Gustav, 192–94, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 210, 212; *Der Kuss*, 193, 198, 210; *Schubert am Klavier*, 193–94, 195, 196–97, 200, 210
- Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb, 15, 23, 114; Auferstehungslied, 15
- Korner, Philipp, 4
- Körner, Theodor, 23, 115
- Kotzebue, August von, 14
- Kozeluch, Leopold, 65
- Kraehenbuehl, David and Richard Chronister, 42
- Kraus, Karl, 194, 195, 200, 201, 206, 207, 218; *Die Fackel*, 218; *Die letzten Tage des Menschheit*, 218
- Kreissle von Hellborn, Heinrich, 199, 202, 203, 205
- Kreutzer, Konradin, xxiv, 105
- Krommer, Franz, 65, 66
- Kubrick, Stanley, xxv, 148, 243, 248, 253–58, 279; *Barry Lyndon*, 253–58, 279; *2001: A Space Odyssey*, 254
- Kupelwieser, Leopold, xix, 16, 51, 59, 88, 96, 97, 98, 99, 117, 126, 140, 196
- Kurosawa, Akira, 243, 267–68; *Rhapsody in August*, 267–68
- Kurth, Richard, 130–31
- lament, 7–12, 114, 115, 142, 144, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 211
- Lang, Franz Innocenz, 5, 63
- Laura (as muse), 12–13, 15, 17, 58, 60, 61, 114, 116, 200
- Lehmann, Lotte, 179, 180
- Lehrer, Fritz, 242; *Mit meinen heißen Tränen—Notturmo*, 242
- Leipzig, 26, 74, 93, 164, 168
- Ligeti, György, 174, 254
- Linz, xiii, xxii, 138

- Liszt, Franz, xxiii, 67, 109, 164, 165, 170–71
- Litolff, Henry/Peters, 50, 182
- Loewe, Carl, 26, 27, 28, 29
- Lorenz, Siegfried, 179, 180
- Lueger, Karl, 191
- Ludlamshöhle, 82, 83, 84
- MacPherson, James, 107; *The Poems of Ossian*, 106–7
- Mahler, Gustav, 120, 166, 173–74, 189, 190, 193, 230
- Maria Theresa, 81, 92, 102
- Marshall, Lois, 179, 180, 181
- Marson, Bonnie, 220–22; *Sleeping with Schubert*, 220–22
- Märtyrer seines Harzens, 242
- Marx, A. B., 199
- Matthisson, Friedrich von, xxi, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 23, 114
- Mayrhofer, Johann, xiii, xix, xxi, 11, 13, 14, 23, 80, 95, 114, 115, 138
- McKay, Elizabeth Norman, xxviii, 85
- Méhul, Étienne Nicolas, 65, 66
- Mendelssohn, Felix, xviii, xxiii, 121, 124, 164, 166, 168–69, 171, 172, 221, 244
- Messing, Scott, 191, 195, 197
- Metternich, Clemens Prince, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 83, 86, 94, 95, 102, 103, 104
- Minority Report, 247–48
- Moore, Gerald, 50, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 182; *The Schubert Song Cycles*, 50
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amade, xiv, xv, xviii, xix, xxiv, 37, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 81, 92, 93–94, 100, 112, 119, 120, 124, 126, 129, 138, 147, 190, 219, 221, 244, 254; *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, 147; *Idomeneo*, 93; *Symphony in G minor*, 64; *Die Zauberflöte*, 65, 81; *Le nozze di Figaro*, 65, 138
- Müller, Hans Udo, 179
- Müller, Wilhelm, xxi, 114, 141, 211, 232, 233
- Nazis, 176, 224, 230, 253
- neapolitan chord, 31, 123, 233
- Neefe, Christian Gottlob, 93
- Nestroy, Johann, 93, 94
- Neue Schubert-Ausgabe, 48
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 24
- Niggli, A., 197, 198
- Nobel Prize for Literature, 195, 228
- nostalgia, 106, 107, 117, 119, 139, 141, 144, 145, 146, 152, 218, 237, 273
- Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg), xix, 139
- Nyman, Michael, 272
- Oehlschläger, Adam, 82
- Onegin, 268
- Ossian, 106–7, 108, 110, 143
- Ottenwalt, Anton, xiii, 11, 84
- Pears, Peter, 181, 183
- Pergen, Count, 81, 93, 102
- Petrarch, 12, 60, 61
- Pettenkofer, Anton, 66
- Pezzl, Johann, 82
- Pleyel, Ignaz, 66
- Polanski, Roman, 243, 275–76; *Death and the Maiden*, 275–76

- police state, 77, 78, 92, 103
 politics, xxiv, 11, 75–78, 80, 83,
 87, 88, 91–97, 99–103, 107,
 108, 109, 110, 137, 141, 143,
 189, 191, 192, 194, 205,
 219–20, 223, 224, 225
 Prey, Hermann, 181, 182
 Prohaska, Josef, 65
 prostitutes, 85, 206, 207
 Prussia, 75, 77, 79, 81
- Ravel, Maurice, xviii, 150, 184,
 221; *La Valse*, 150
 reading circle, xix, xxi, xxii, 6, 11,
 81, 86, 87, 88, 89, 95, 96, 126
 Reed, John, 33n13, 219
 Reeve, Henry, 77, 82
 Reger, Max, 212
 Reichardt, Johann Friedrich, 25,
 112
 Richter, Hans, 191
 Romanticism, xxiv, 8, 20, 114,
 116, 139, 168, 194, 199, 203,
 209, 256
 Romberg, Andreas Jakob, 66
 Rosemann, Leonard, 256, 257
 Rosetti, Francesco Antonio, 66
 Rossini, Gioacchino Antonio, 100,
 105, 267; *La cenerentola*,
 269
 Rózsa, Miklós, 248, 249, 250
 Rubenstein, Artur, 183, 184, 185
 Rückert, Friedrich, 114, 137, 138,
 173
 Ruzicka, Wenzel, 65
- Salieri, Antonio, xiv, xix, 5, 6, 12,
 24, 92, 100, 170, 216, 219
 salons, xxi, 92, 196
 Sawallisch, Wolfgang, 175
- Schiller, Friedrich, xxi, 9, 11, 12,
 17, 23, 54, 58, 61, 114, 115;
 On the Aesthetic Education of
 Man, 12; *Wilhelm Tell*, 11
 Schiff, András, 122, 183, 184, 185
 Schindler, Alma, 193
 Schindler, Anton, 124
 Schiøtz, Aksel, 175, 176–178,
 180; *The Singer and His Art*,
 176–77
 Schlamperei, 76, 79, 80, 82
 Schlegel, August Wilhelm von,
 xxiv
 Schlegel, Friedrich von, xxiv, 11,
 110, 173
 Schlösser, Louis, 52
 Schmidt von Lübeck, Georg
 Philipp, 114
 Schnabel, Artur, 183, 184, 191
 Schnitzler, Arthur, 17, 191, 195,
 201, 228
 Schober, Franz von, xiii, xix, xxi,
 xxiv, 11, 14, 23, 39, 59, 74,
 84–89, 96, 97–101, 105–110,
 114, 136, 138, 140, 141, 145,
 171, 205, 218, 219, 277
 Schoenberg, Arnold, 174, 189,
 192, 208–9, 210, 212
 Schönberger, Franz Xaver, 63
 Schreier, Peter, 180
 Schröder-Devrient, Wilhelmine,
 25
 Schubart, Christian Friedrich,
 xxiii, 58, 59, 61, 114
 Schubert, Elisabeth Vietz
 (mother), 37
 Schubert, Ferdinand Lukas
 (brother), 6, 37, 51, 101, 139,
 140, 164, 168, 169
 Schubert, Franz Karl (brother), 37

- Schubert, Franz Peter: My Dream, 9, 113, 139–40, 142, 155, 219; as pianist, xx, 38, 46, 51–55, 67, 221; as singer, xx, xxi, 38–40, 46, 51, 67, 105; as teacher, 12, 13, 14, 15, 74, 137, 197, 202; as violist/violinist, xx, 37, 38, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 127, 134; operas: *Alfonso und Estrella*, xxiv, 54, 100–110, 128, 143, 171; *Claudine von Villa Bella*, 23; *Des Teufels Lustschloss*, 14; *Die Freunde von Salamanka*, 121; *Die Zauberharfe*, 99; *Die Zwillingsbrüder*, 98, 100, 101, 109; *Rosamunde* (incidental music), 128, 265, 266; *Sakuntala*, 99; piano four hands: Allegro in A minor (D947, Lebensstürme), 54; Fantasy in F Minor (D940), 54; Sonata in C (D812, Grand Duo), 54; piano solo: Impromptu in A flat (D899, no. 4), 42, 44, 61; Impromptu in A flat (D935, no. 2), 271; Impromptu in B flat (D935, no. 3), 121; Impromptu in C minor (D899, no. 1), 254; Impromptu in G flat (D899, no. 3), 121–22, 134, 183–85, 264, 265, 266, 271; Sonata in A minor (D845), 51, 52; Sonata in G (D894), 155; Sonata in C minor (D958), 153; Sonata in A (D959), 147, 149–52, 230, 236, 239, 261, 266, 278, 279; Sonata in B flat (D960), 230; “Wanderer” Fantasy (D760), xx, 51, 52, 67, 171, 211; songs: An die Musik, 86, 97, 114; An Emma, 114; An Laura, als sie Klopstocks Auferstehungslied sang, 12, 15, 114; An mein Klavier, xxiii, 58–60, 61; Ave Maria, 170, 220, 268, 269; Das Mädchen von Inistore, 107; Der Musensohn, 270; Der Tod und das Mädchen, 114, 142, 148; Der Wanderer, 114, 219; Der Wanderer an den Mond, 114; Der Zwerg, 53; Des Mädchens Klage, 8–9, 10, 20; Die Betende, 12–13, 15, 114; Die Forelle, 52, 114, 125; Die Götter Greichenlands, 121; *Die schöne Müllerin*, 52, 114, 142, 175, 176, 178, 203, 268 (Der Neugierige, 178–80, 182; Trockne Blumen, 52); Erlkönig, xx, 16, 20, 23–33, 38, 106, 170; Grenzen der Menschheit, 133, 209; Gretchen am Spinnrade, 15–23, 26, 27, 29, 60, 140, 174, 200, 211, 238; Hagars Klage, 7–9, 10; Heidenröslein, 23, 27, 251, 253, 267, 268; Im Frühling, 114; Jägers Liebeslied, 123; Klagelied, 8; Lachen und Weinen, 137–38; Laura am Klavier, 12, 58, 60–61, 200; Litanei, 269, 270; Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt, 116, 146; Pilgerweise, 123; Schäfers Klagelied, 23; Sei mir gegrüsst, 114; Suleika I, 129, 130, 133, 135n18; *Schwanengesang*, ix, 158; *Winterreise*, xxv, 38, 39, 43,

- 44, 47–50, 106, 114, 118, 122, 140–46, 151, 153, 158, 173, 174, 176–78, 180–83, 211, 219, 232, 233, 234, 240n21, 277, 278, 281 (Auf dem Flusse, 233; Der Leiermann, 278; Die Nebensonnen, 143; Der greise Kopf, 44, 48, 62, 180; Der Lindenbaum, 119, 141, 142, 144, 146; Der Stürmische Morgen, 143; Der Wegweiser, 143, 281, 232, 233; Einsamkeit, 48–50, 181, 182, 232; Frühlingstraum, 119, 146, 147; Im Dorfe, 143, 281; Mut, 143; Täuschung, 106, 143, 233; Wasserflut, 47–48); string quartets: A minor (D804), 126; D minor (D810, *Death and the Maiden*), xxv, 126, 148, 174, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 265, 275, 276; G major (D887), 126–27, 226; symphonies and orchestral: fragments, 128; Ländlers for Orchestra, 54; overtures, 54, 66, 126, 128, 264; Symphony in B flat (No. 2), 66; Symphony in C (No. 6), 66; Symphony in E (No. 7), 98, 128, 169; “Unfinished” Symphony, xv, xx, 128–34, 169, 191, 222, 243, 245–47, 248–50; Symphony in C (“Great”), xx, 67, 132, 155, 158, 164, 168–69, 171; trios and quintets: Notturmo (D897), 52; Piano Quintet in A (D667, “Die Forelle”), 52, 121, 138; Piano Trio in E flat (D929), xxv, 155–56, 168, 199, 239, 254–58, 261, 279; String Quintet in C (D956), xxv, 147, 152–55, 158, 226, 261, 273, 274; various instrumental: Fantasy in C for Violin and Piano (D934), 52, 127; German Dances (D790), 149; Introduction and Variations for Flute and Piano (D802), 52; March in E (D606), 122; *Moments musicaux* (D780), 123, 218, 220; Octet (D803), 121, 126, 138; Sonata for Arpeggione (D821), 52, 265
- Schubert, Franz Theodor Florian (father), 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 37, 38, 51, 59, 74, 136, 139, 147, 202, 219
- Schubert, Ignaz Franz (brother), 37, 137
- Schubert, Maria Theresia (sister), 37
- Schubert-Ausstellung, 191, 196
- Schubertiad, xxii, 53, 96, 203, 220
- Schuberts-Feier, 191
- Schücking, Clemens August, 7
- Schulze, Ernst, 114
- Schumann, Robert, xix, xxiii, 69, 93, 124, 139, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 176, 194, 198, 199, 230, 259; *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 167, 171
- Schwammerl, xiv, 217
- Schwind, Moritz von, xiii, xix, 53, 59, 60, 96, 97, 138, 140, 204, 218
- Sedlnitsky, Josef Graf von, 74, 76, 81, 94, 95, 103
- Seidl, Gabriel, 114, 115

- Seminary (K. K. Stadtkonvikt), xix, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 24, 37, 38, 40, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 75, 120, 125
- Senn, Johann, xix, 11, 75–76, 82, 84, 85, 94, 95, 97
- Seume, Johann Gottfried, 103
- sexuality, xvii, xxv, 11, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33, 95, 198, 206, 209, 219, 224, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 244, 245, 253, 271, 272, 273, 275
- Solomon, Maynard, xvii, xxviii, 14, 32, 219, 271, 273
- Sonnleithner, Leopold von, 39, 43, 44, 46, 65, 66, 85, 109, 112, 176, 201
- Spaun, Anton von, 86, 87, 109
- Spaun, Josef von, xiii, 3, 6, 7, 11, 24, 39, 43, 51, 54, 55, 63, 64, 84, 97, 99, 100, 108, 112, 138, 141
- Spontini, Gaspare, 66
- St. Pölten, 99, 106
- Stadler, Albert, 39, 51
- Stein, Charlotte von, 28
- Stohl, Franz, 53
- Strachey, Lytton, 271, 272, 273, 274
- Streinsberg, Joseph Ludwig von, 76
- Sturm und Drang, 9
- sypilis, 88, 113, 136, 137, 157, 205
- Tieck, Ludwig, xxiv, 110
- Torres, Fina, 268; *Mécaniques Celestes*, 268–70
- Tovey, Donald Francis, 26
- Treitschke, Georg, 100
- Ulanowsky, Paul, 179
- Ulmer, Edgar, 247; *The Black Cat*, 247
- Unsinnsgesellschaft, 84
- Urhan, Chrétien, 170
- Vanhal, Jean Baptiste, 92
- Vogl, Michael, xix, 38, 39, 43, 44, 46, 53, 54, 70, 98, 100, 109, 196, 201, 218
- Vogler, Abbé Georg Josef, 65
- Vienna, xiv, xv, xvii, xxiii, 3, 4, 6, 11, 17, 24, 26, 32, 43, 52, 59, 62, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100
- Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 79, 116
- Wackenroder, W. H., xxiv, 139
- Wagenseil, Georg Christoph, 92
- Wagner, Maria, 38
- Wagner, Richard, xv, xvi, 210, 224, 225, 244, 245, 247, 253; *Die Meistersinger*, xv, 253; *Lohengrin*, 225; *Tristan und Isolde*, 224, 244, 245, 247
- Walch, Josef, 3, 10
- wanderer, 115, 142, 143, 145, 148, 230, 232, 258, 281
- Weber, Carl Maria von, xix, 83, 109; *Der Freischütz*, 83, 109
- Webern, Anton, 174, 211, 212
- Weigl, Joseph, xxiv, 66, 100, 101, 105, 109; *Das Waisenhaus*, 100; *Die Schwizerfamilie*, 100
- Wieck, Friedrich, 167
- Weininger, Otto, 197, 198, 206; *Geschlecht und Charakter*, 197

- Wilder, Billy, 243, 248–50; *Double Indemnity*, 248–50
Winter, Peter, 5, 66
Wolf, Hugo, 166, 173, 175, 208
Wolf, Nanette, 54
Wordsworth, William, 11, 198
Wunderlich, Fritz, 177, 179, 180
Youens, Susan, 143, 173, 174
Zechenter, Johann Baptist, 76
Zelter, Karl Friedrich, 25, 112
Zimmermann, Maria (Mizzi), 196
Zseliz (Hungary), 140, 197
Zumsteeg, Johann Rudolf, 7, 9, 112

DropBooks

About the Author

David Schroeder is a University Research Professor in the Department of Music at Dalhousie University, Canada, and he holds a PhD from Cambridge University. His previous books include *Haydn and the Enlightenment* (1990), *Mozart in Revolt* (1999), and *Cinema's Illusions, Opera's Allure: The Operatic Impulse in Film* (2002). He has also written extensively about Alban Berg and literature.

DropBooks